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THE
PULPIT AND POLITICS

OR
CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE.

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NOBLE M. EBERHART,
PUBLISHER AND PRINTER,
420 Dearborn St.,
CHICAGO.

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DEDICATION :

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO MY BRETHREN AND SISTERS WHO HAVE IN OBEDIENCE TO GOD'S CALL, CONSECRATED THEMSELVES TO THE GOSPEL MINISTRY, WITH THE HOPE THAT THEY MAY BE LED BY ITS CONTENTS TO A HIGHER APPRECIATION OF THEIR SACRED OBLIGATIONS AND A MORE COMPREHENSIVE FIELD FOR PULPIT DISCUSSION.

ERRATA.

Page	15	in	3rd	Line	reprove for improve
"	18	"	13th	"	wield for yield
"	19	"	1st	"	defended for defeated
"	26	"	3rd	"	men for law
"	27	"	15th	"	authority for authenticity
"	38	"	1st	"	his for the
"	"	"	10th	"	at for to
"	"	"	11th	"	one for the
"	42	"	18th	"	operations for operators
"	81	"	22nd	"	guiltless for guilty
"	85	"	10th	"	omit it
"	92	"	4th	"	for for from
"	106	"	18th	"	laity for party
"	183	"	7th	"	insert of before law
"	206	"	10th	"	insert the before duty
"	208	"	3rd	"	Jonadab for 2nd Jehu

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Preface.

We make no apology for offering to the public this unpretending volume. The pulpit is God's ordained instrument for the propagation of His truth, and the gospel minister is God's representative, under obligation to obey Him in the proclamation of truth, and not the hired servant of the people to prophesy according to their dictation. The growing tendency to challenge the right of the pulpit to obey God rather than men, threatens the destruction of Christianity. It is no uncommon thing for laymen, and especially those who are wealthy, to threaten the withdrawal of their support from the church unless their pastors quietly submit to their dictation, instead of God's authority, concerning the subjects and methods of pulpit discussion. Ministers all over our country are thus insulted by the implication that they are preaching for the money there is in it, and have no conscience acting as a monitor, to govern them in their pulpit ministrations.

The true relation of the pulpit to God and to the church and the world ought to be better understood. The story of the lady pedagogue who proposed to teach that the world is round, or flat, or both, just as the patrons of the school

might desire, fitly illustrates the notion of many laymen as to the proper relation of the pulpit to the pew. A higher appreciation of the sacredness of the pulpit and of the fact that the true minister speaks by the authority of God, is one of the greatest needs of the times.

It is also worthy of note that the most persistent and unscrupulous efforts to embarrass and weaken the pulpit by improperly limiting its province and suppressing its utterance of truth, come from the fields of politics. Where corruption is most in the ascendancy the pulpit always finds its most bitter enemies and its greatest opposition. The pulpit however must listen to God and not to men, must stand by the right and advocate the truth, even though politicians be offended. The pulpit is from God and not from man, and he who occupies the pulpit should receive his message from God and not from the dictation of men who seek to screen themselves from the condemnation of God's truth.

J. G. EVANS.

ABINGDON, ILL., August 1, 1890.

INTRODUCTION.

By E. McCLISH, D. D.

THE MESSAGE BEARER.

The old history of Micaiah before king Ahab, recorded in the first book of Kings, illustrates a temptation peculiar to the bearer of divine messages in all ages. To prophesy good things of those in power, has been the temptation. Such a prophecy on the part of Micaiah would have put him in favor with the king and in harmony with the four hundred prophets. Even the politic servant who brought him to the king tried to secure a favorable message by telling the prophet how the majority stood. "Behold now the words of the prophets declare good unto the king with one mouth, let thy word I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak that which is good." But Micaiah refusing to be influenced by the unanimous and popular, though false, verdict of the four hundred prophets, or by the frown of the king whose hatred of him was well known, bravely answered: "As the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me, I will speak."

Brave soul ! He uttered his truthful message, and for it was smitten in the face by a false prophet, and sent to prison by the enraged and characterless king.

Every minister of the Gospel is a bearer of messages from God to man. And neither the hatred of political powers, nor the opposition of pulpit and press should deter him from giving a full and faithful deliverance of his message.

It may be his duty to proclaim unpleasant truths to those who wear crowns, or the tiara, as did Knox and Luther; or he may find it necessary to utter his unpopular message to a proud and luxurious age ignoring the laws of God, as did Lovejoy, Parker, Beecher and Haven. But human nature is the same in all ages, whether it wears the crown, or casts a freeman's ballot. In the son of Chenaanah, it smote the cheek of the faithful prophet; in Ahab, it imprisoned him; in Jehoiakim, it burnt his message; in Herod it beheaded him; in Queen Mary it dreaded him; in a free Democracy it may banish him, as it did Aristides; and in a free Republic under the voluntary system of ministerial support, it may kill him as it did Lovejoy and Haddock, or refuse him sympathy, or brand him with opprobrious epithets or burn him in effigy.

The message-bearer dies and still lives in his message. Paul gives his message to trembling Felix and to haughty Agrippa, and is returned in his chains to his prison; again, he stands alone before Nero, and with a curl of the debauchee's lip, the faithful message-bearer is sent out of the Ostian gate to die; or rather to live, for the influence of Paul

has been increasing from that day to this. It were better to be the lowliest bearer of a divine truth than to be the most powerful king, or commonwealth that ignores the message or scorns its bearer !

The words of Bryant contain a proposition sustained by all history :

“ Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But error wounded writhes in pain,
And dies among her worshipers. ”

A comprehensive view of the great movement in human history will convince one that the greatest benefactors of the race have been faithful prophets of God, and that its greatest workers of evil, have been accredited but false prophets crying Peace, Peace ; when there was no peace. And he will find both leaders and people largely influenced by their accredited prophets, whether true or false.

This is especially true of our own country, whose chief men have trusted not in policy, but in the principles inculcated in God's word.

They have looked to the pulpit for support and have been made strong by its sanctions, and again they have found their faith sorely tried, when accredited Christian teachers refused to support them in carrying into politics those principles of humanity which the Bible clearly required.

In the days of the Revolution John Adams said, “ Let the pulpit thunder against oppression. ”

Between 1830 and 1840, John G. Whittier, whom the

Germans regard as our deepest-hearted poet, spent much time in interviewing ministers on Slavery.

"I went to minister after minister," he said "and was disappointed in case after case, but the general *feeling* was right." He continues, "The trouble was usually, that men feared they would lose their places." In 1854, Chas. Sumner in the U. S. Senate presented one hundred and twenty-five separate remonstrances from ministers against the extension of Slavery. The friends of Slavery as friends of iniquity to-day, opposed this interposition of the pulpit. Sumner replied: "Sir, from the first settlement of these shores, from those early days of struggle and privation, through the trials of the Revolution, the clergy are associated not only with the piety and learning, but with the liberties of the country. New England for a long time was governed by their prayers more than by any acts of the Legislature; and at a later day their voices aided even by the Declaration of Independence. For myself, I desire to thank them for their generous interposition.

He hoped they would make themselves heard for he said: "The time has come for the pulpits to thunder."

In 1846, Gilbert Haven, afterward Bishop, made the ears of those who called him "Negro-worshiper" and "Political preacher," tingle with the following prophetic words.

"If we postpone our political reformation to the presidential contest of 1860 there will be civil war. If the North has courage enough to fight, though not enough to vote for liberty, before that not distant period arrives the struggle

may have been begun." But the northern pulpit and pew had not the courage to break from party lines and vote for liberty until set free by the shock of battle.

So in 1860 we find Abraham Lincoln, a careful student of the New Testament sorely perplexed in his effort to harmonize the teachings of that Book and the political attitude of the preachers and leading members of the churches in his city. In these days when men sneer at the statement "Vote as you pray," it will not be amiss to recall an interesting bit of history, to show that thoughtful conscientious, and practical Abraham Lincoln just before his election made a careful canvass of the ministers of Springfield, not to learn about their theology or their preaching, or their prayers, but to learn whether their votes were in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. Completing the canvass he turned with sad face to Newton Bateman and spoke as follows: "Here are twenty-three ministers of different denominations and all of them are against me but three; and here are a great many prominent church members, a very large majority of them are against me. Mr. Bateman, I am not a Christian, God knows I would be one, but I have carefully read the Bible and I do not so understand this book. These men well know I am for freedom in territories, freedom everywhere, as free as the Constitution and the laws will permit, and that my opponents are for Slavery.

They *know* this, and yet with this book in their hands

in the light of which human bondage cannot live for a moment they are going to vote against me ; I do not understand it at all."

After pausing awhile to control his emotions, he arose and walked the floor. When he again resumed the conversation, his face was wet with tears, and he said with trembling voice :

" I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery.

" I see the storm coming and I know that His hand is in it.

" I may not see the end ; but it will come, and I shall be vindicated and these men will find that they have not read their Bibles aright." After another pause, he said : " Doesn't it appear strange that men can ignore the moral aspect of this contest ? The future would be something awful, as I look at it but for this rock on which I stand (alluding to the Testament which he still held in his hand) especially with the knowledge of how these ministers are going to vote."

This is one of the most suggestive scenes in our history. A divinely called leader turning with yearning heart to divinely-called message-bearers, who withhold their support and suppress a part of their message in deference to politicians.

But the scene changed. The shot on Sumpter aroused the pulpit, and while the nation like another Egypt was mourning for its first-born in a thousand homes the minis-

ters by the lurid light of civil war read their Bibles aright and good Mr. Lincoln in glad recognition of the fact that all the churches had nobly sustained the Government said, "God bless all the churches!"

Once every May, this nation strews with flowers the graves of half a million patriots. Why did they die? Joseph Cook answered: "If the Church had done its whole duty in the fifty years preceding the time in which our land was bathed in blood, my generation might not have been a fragment. Had every pulpit in the land done what a few pulpits did, there might have been no need at last for Almighty Providence to sieze the North by the nape of the neck, and throw it across a chasm filled with corpses to the firm land of justice." These solemn words suggest those of another, "O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word of my mouth and warn them from me. If thou doth not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked shall die in his iniquity but his blood will I require at thy hand.' How far the silence of the pulpit, or its failure to read its Bible aright is responsible for our national woes, God only knows. But if the fact that the pulpit permitted political prejudice to blind its eyes, or seal its lips or supress its vote, on the *moral aspect* of a contest, perplexed so great a man as Lincoln, it is certainly food for reflection. Political contests with *moral aspects* are yet to be settled in America, and in their settlement the Adamses and the Sumners are going to cry, "Let the pulpits thunder against the wrong" and

the Lincolns are going to carefully consider the political attitude of the pulpit ; while the upholders of wrong are going to demand that ministers shall be silent on all questions involving political issues.

What shall the minister do ?

He must grieve the man of principle, or offend the man of policy.

He must not suffer the Church to be despised by men of moral discernment. In the noble language of Bishop Foster : "The Church should always be first to discern and most prompt to lead in every moral and humane advance. Where there is wrong she is bound to condemn it—denounce it, fight against it. The Church of to-day, much more the Church of the future, must take to its heart the duty of combining and massing its forces against that gigantic atrocity, that diabolical conspiracy, that nameless *Monstrum horrendum* of Christian civilization that mothers nine tenths of the woes and sorrows which blight and curse our modern age, the traffic in intoxicants, which hides its deformity under forms of law.

The exorcism of this demon, this vampire that has seized and preys upon the very vitals of the nation, demands the combined energy of the Church and the government."

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., Aug. 5th, 1891.

THE PULPIT AND POLITICS.

CHAPTER I.

PRELUDE.

Wicked men have always protested against the right of the pulpit to investigate their schemes, expose their wickedness, or improve their iniquity. The violation of law has no sympathy with the business of the detective, the rogue despises the truthful witness, the criminal dislikes the decision of an honest jury and the imprisoned culprit has a poor opinion of the law. It remains true, however, that prudent detectives, truthful witnesses, honest jurors and just laws are essential to the public good. The ill-tempered, railing accusations that are made against the pulpit by unprincipled politicians, furnish no evidence that the pulpit has transcended its commission or entered an interdicted field. The criminal may assume to be judge, both of the law and the facts, but the court does not vacate the bench out of consideration for the unreasonable views of the criminal, pervert-

ed and warped by the blind prejudice of self-interest. Nor should the pulpit be influenced by the views of men whose party purposes and political schemes require a silent pulpit. The teacher who first inquires what kind of teaching will be popular among his pupils and then teaches accordingly without any reference to truth, is a cheat and a hypocrite. The pulpit is a teacher and there is no baser man than he who occupies a pulpit, assumes the grave responsibilities of a Christian minister, and yet, who governs his teaching not by the will of God, but by the demands of wicked men. A class of politicians, without any just view of their obligations to God, are determined, if possible, to destroy the influence of the pulpit in order to accomplish their wicked designs. Many well meaning persons have been led by these political leaders, to believe that the pulpit has violated its sacred trust, and their prejudices have been aroused against the clergy and against the truth proclaimed from the pulpit. The rights of the pulpit have been determined and its limitations definitely fixed from the standpoint of personal interest and prejudice rather than by careful investigation and intelligent discussion.

During the years preceding the great rebellion, the prominence of the slavery question in the politics of our nation and the decided stand taken by the great majority of the evangelical clergy in favor of human liberty, brought the pulpit into the very midst of political discussion. Not the discussion of partyism and the personal fitness and claims of candidates for office, but the great issues which were at

that time both moral and political. The most unscrupulous politicians strangely became very pious and were exceedingly exercised for the purity of religion and the honor of the clergy. The rebellion in the interest of slavery greatly increased the earnestness of the clergy upon the subject of freedom, and their growing zeal in the cause of liberty fanned into a raging flame the fires of persecution from alarmed politicians whose schemes were in danger. The churches generally sustained the claims and course of their ministers, while the great majority of a defeated political party became the villifiers of the clergy and the enemies of the church. The politicians of the other party were the bold defenders of the pulpit in its advocacy of liberty and its denunciations of slavery. It was generally believed at the time that these Republican politicians defended the clergy in their claim to the right of advocating the cause of freedom, because of honest conviction that the pulpit is entitled to discuss all moral questions even though political issues be involved ; but the developments of later years have cast a suspicion upon their honesty and indicate that their praise of the pulpit for its independence and boldness must now be attributed to pure selfishness. The same men who eulogized the pulpit for its advocacy of human liberty and its steadfast friendship toward the Union, now utter bitter imprecations upon the pulpit for its advocacy of prohibition and its denunciations of political subjection to the rum power. They now claim that the minister should preach the Gospel and let *prohibition* alone, just as the old Demo-

cratic politicians claimed that the ministers should preach the Gospel and let the slavery question alone.

We propose to examine the whole question in the light of the Bible and reason. Either the pulpit of this country has transcended its rights or its traducers have been guilty of a great wrong. The pulpit must be held responsible for an undue assumption of power in the fields of discussion, or its abusers for their opposition to God's appointed [instrumentality for elevating and saving the human race.

The subject indicated is one of special interest and importance to the minister of the Gospel. One who feels the responsibility of a call from God to that sacred office would by no means desire to use his position to yield an influence upon questions not properly embraced within the sphere of his sacred calling. Nor would an honest and faithful ambassador of Christ be willing to withhold any part of the counsel of God. It becomes, therefore a question of deep interest to the minister to know where to draw the lines so as not to reach beyond his proper sphere nor yet fail to do his whole duty. In drawing those lines it seems to be a mooted question whether the pulpit has a right to express an opinion concerning any policy connected with the State, or reprove any political evil.

It is undeniable that the politics of this country have been glaringly immoral. Political campaigns have too often exhibited scenes of street broils, caucus intrigues, defamations of personal character, lying, bribery and dishonesty of every description ; and doctrines have been and still are dis-

seminated and defeated by political associations which are degrading to humanity and an abomination in the sight of God. Hence these party organizations have come in conflict with the Christian religion and with its visible representative, the pulpit. But politicians and their blind and thoughtless followers, instead of meeting the issue fairly like men, have cowardly plead exemption from the common responsibilities of men and denied the right of the pulpit to improve sin, provided its perpetrators could only show its connection with politics. Hence has arisen the questions, what is the proper empire of the pulpit? Does it cover the whole field of morals, or are the provinces bearing political banners interdicted ground?

CHAPTER II.

THE ISSUE STATED.

The study of so grave a question,—a question involving the interests of both Church and State, demands a comprehensive statement of positions and a clear definition of terms. Much of the dissatisfaction with the pulpit has arisen from the fact that many of those who have been most bitter in their denunciations of what they have denominated “political preaching,” have never had a well-defined idea of the mission of the pulpit, as ordained of God, nor really known the meaning of the word politics.

This word is defined by Webster, as follows:

1. “The science of government, that part of ethics which has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or State, the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity; the defense of its existence and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources *and the protection of its citizens in their rights with the preservation and improvement of their morals.*

2. The management of a political party; the advancement of candidates to office; in a bad sense, artful or dis.

honest management to secure the success of political measures or party schemes ; political trickery. ”

The word comes from the Greek *polis*, a city, and signifies primarily the policy of a city, but came naturally to be used to designate the policy of a whole country embraced under the same government. Hence its present use to denote the policy of a city, state or nation. Every act of the State is therefore political, because it forms a part of the State policy. As the State legislates for “the protection of its citizens in their rights” and for “the preservation and improvement of their morals,”—as it is the duty of the State to do—these questions of “rights” and “morals” become political questions. A failure of the State to enact proper legislation for the protection of the citizen in his rights, and for the preservation and improvement of his morals, renders the State liable to censure and just criticism from all those who are entitled to speak on those questions.

The pulpit, including the proper public functions of the clergy, is the divinely appointed instrumentality to restore purity, righteousness and loyalty to God. To expound the Divine law in all its applications to human conduct, to enforce obedience to that law and offer pardon through Christ, is clearly the duty of the pulpit. Hence the question, *Does fidelity to this high trust ever call the pulpit into the arena of politics?*

Man is under a Divine law and the pulpit is God’s instrumentality for applying and enforcing that law. The pulpit

in its duty of application is commensurate with the Divine law in its binding obligations. It is only necessary then for the settlement of this question to inquire whether this Divine law follows men from the private walks of life to their caucuses and conventions and also to the ballot box and the halls of legislation ; whether actions involving the "rights of men" in an ocean-bound republic and the morals of generations yet unborn, lie within the purview of God's law and are justly accountable, or whether men's actions are unrestrained by Divine law and exempt from judgement when they act in a public capacity. If God's law binds nations as well as men—legislators and citizens as such, as well as in their private walks, then political and national sins are within the legitimate notice of the pulpit.

We might here dismiss the question and leave it beyond the reach of all petty cavilers, but we do not propose to dispose of the Divine law in its applications to questions of legislation summarily and in a general argument. The interests involved, together with the outrageous assaults made upon the pulpit by designing politicians and the disgraceful concessions made by some time-serving ministers, demand a thorough investigation and discussion of the whole question.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROVINCE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Civil government is a *Divine institution* authorized by the Supreme Ruler for the purpose of aiding in the restoration of order, peace and harmony among men. The necessity for civil government grew out of the introduction of sin into our world. God made man with certain "inalienable rights," among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights belong equally to every individual of the human race. They are not founded upon physical strength, mental culture, moral excellence, nor the color of the skin, but upon the possession of manhood.

Had man never sinned and could society have existed with man as he was in his primeval purity and innocence, there would have been no necessity for civil law, because no one would have had any disposition to trample upon the rights of his fellows. Sin, however, introduced disorder and made man blind, selfish, wilful and tyrannical. The rights of the weak were no longer safe in the hands of the strong ; and therefore society must be abandoned and all its advantages sacrificed, or law, with appropriate penalties

introduced for the protection of the weak against the aggressions of their more powerful neighbors. Society must be protected or abandoned. The latter could not be without the extinction of all the noble faculties of the human soul and the race must therefore be blotted out or law be instituted for man's government in society with penalties sufficient to secure a general obedience. God therefore gave the Divine sanction to the existence of civil government ; but that sanction was given to civil government as an institution for the protection of men in their natural rights and for the preservation and the improvement of their morals. Civil government as a Divine institution has then for its object the protection of society and the elevation of the race and is designed to secure to each man his natural or God-given rights. That kind of civil government which is "ordained of God" is to be a terror to evil doers ; "for rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil" and "he" the ruler, "is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." The evil to be punished by the civil ruler is that evil which *interferes with the rights of others or injures the morals of the community.*

That is all that civil government has the right to do under the plea of the Divine sanction. It may through conventional authority by the consent of the governed, do many things for the comfort of the people and the prosperity of the nation, but it does these from conventional rights and not from Divine authority and obligation ; and no au-

thority can justify any civil government in failing to fulfill the primary object of its institution under the Divine sanction. God holds nations responsible for carrying out the original idea of civil government according to the Divine plan, for the protection of men in their rights and the improvement of their morals.

The clergy, called of God to the sacred office of the ministry and commanded to "cry aloud and spare not," are God's representatives among men, and upon them, therefore, devolves the duty of sounding the alarm whenever wicked men presume to divert the powers of civil government and subvert them to subserve their iniquitous purposes. The clergy must therefore reprove sin in high places and expose political iniquity or be guilty of cowardice while stationed as watchmen upon the walls of Zion.

CHAPTER IV.

FOUNDATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

All distinguished jurists recognize the Divine law as furnishing the foundation for all just human laws and as being superior in their obligations to enactments of law. Sir William Blackstone who is recognized both in England and America as a standard authority, says : “ This law of nature, being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding all over the globe, in all countries, and at all times ; *no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this ; and such of them as are valid derive all their authority mediately or immediately from this original.* Divine Providence hath been pleased at sundry times and in divers manners, to discover and enforce its laws by direct revelation. The doctrines thus delivered we call the revealed or Divine law and they are to be found only in the Holy Scriptures. These precepts when revealed are found upon comparison to be really a part of the original law of nature as they tend in all their consequences to man's felicity. As then the moral precepts of this law are indeed of the same origin

with those of the law of nature, so their intrinsic obligation is of equal strength and perpetuity. *Yet undoubtedly the revealed law is of infinitely more authenticity than that moral system which is framed by ethical writers and demonstrated by natural law* : because one is the law of nature expressly declared to be of God himself ; the other is only what, by the assistance of human reason, we imagine to be that law. Upon these two foundations the law of nature and the law of revelation, depend all human laws ; that is to say, *no human law should be suffered to contradict these.*”

The “higher law” revealed in the Bible and of which the pulpit is the divinely authorized expounder, is here set forth in the most unequivocal terms.

The Bible is declared to contain that which is the same as the natural law, only of infinitely more authenticity as it is the declaration of God himself. It is also declared to *contain the foundation of all law, so that no human laws should be suffered to exist which are not in accord with its teachings.* And yet, self-conceited ignorance in the persons of prejudiced bigots will tell us that the Bible contains no politics, while the best legal authorities in the world assure us that it is the foundation of all just politics concerning the “rights” and “morals” of men, and that no laws for the government of man should be allowed to exist which are not in harmony with the laws of the Bible and based upon its teaching. Even the validity of human laws is declared to depend upon their agreement with the Bible. *Their force of authority is derived from this source.*

The doctrines of the Bible, admitted by all reputable members of the legal profession to be the basis of all just human laws upon questions of personal rights and morals, must be discussed, applied and enforced by the pulpit, whose text book is the Bible and whose legitimate and appropriate field of investigation and discussion is the whole range of revealed truth in all its relations and applications to the human family.

Civil government must legislate upon these same questions, for God requires it and man's necessity demands it, and they therefore become involved in the politics of the State. As the pulpit discusses and applies these great moral truths it involves the enactments of civil government, either in confirmation of, or in opposition to, those enactments. One of three things must necessarily follow:

1. Civil government must abandon its duty of legislating for the protection of its citizens in their rights and for the preservation and improvement of their morals.

2. The pulpit must abandon the "higher law" and concede the subordination of God to man; or,

3. The civil government must legislate upon, and the pulpit discuss, the same great questions of rights and morals.

The first would destroy the very foundation of civil government, forfeit the Divine sanction, incur the Divine displeasure, leave society without protection, and produce anarchy everywhere. Should civil government abandon the field of right and morals where the pulpit by Divine appointment is authorized to speak, in order to divorce poli-

tics from the sphere of public rights, the result would be a Godless supremacy and the universal reign of iniquity without restraint or punishment. The second, by presenting a mutilated gospel to the world, would destroy God's plan for the recovery of man from his ruined estate. The world can never be redeemed except by the preaching of a full and unfettered gospel. God has made no unnecessary revelations of truth and the minister who, through fear, of offending politicians, with-holds any part of God's Word, or fails to apply His truth in all its appropriate bearings to the varied relations of man must be fearfully culpable in the sight of God. If the pulpit should concede its obligation to retire from every field occupied by civil legislation, it could easily be driven from the world of right and morals and have no place left for the exercise of its commission. Indeed there is today scarcely a conceivable case of applied morals in the relations of men to one another that is not properly, though in many cases not sufficiently, embraced in human legislation.

It follows that the third is the only tenable position and the pulpit must occupy ground covered by legislation. The pulpit, speaking with the sanction of Divine authority, must educate in the same fields where the legislature must enact laws with penal sanctions for the coercion of those who will not so far listen to the teachings of God's ministers as to abstain from crime. By Divine appointment the pulpit and civil government are united upon the fields of right and morals. While the one is faithful and true and

the other just and righteous, the most perfect harmony will exist, both working together for the protection, elevation and happiness of the race. When, however, those in civil authority digress from the teachings of the "higher law" and legislate in favor of oppression and wrong and for the overthrow of good morals, there must be a collision between the faithful pulpit and the civil authority thus perverted from the right way, and in such cases the pulpit to be true to God and humanity must pronounce its unqualified condemnation of the politicians for their iniquitous legislation.

The pulpit that does not cross the path of wicked legislators and scheming politicians and call forth their anathemas must rest under the suspicion of being unfaithful to God and the truth in the midst of a perverse and wicked generation.

The conflict in this country a third of a century ago, between an uncorrupted pulpit and a class of proslavery politicians was a forcible illustration of the strife that must ensue between a faithful pulpit and the perpetrators and abettors of wrong. Slavery had been enshrined by law as an institution of our land and the existing political parties had vied with each other in doing honor to the Southern god. The pulpit, though too faintly, kept sounding the alarm and urging the claims of the Divine law in favor of universal liberty. At length, by the very unreasonable demands of the slave power and its continued encroachments upon human liberty, the nation became awakened, the public

conscience aroused, and the conflict between the defenders of slavery and the advocates of the Bible doctrine of human rights, became fierce and irrepressible. The pulpit now stood in the front ranks of liberty's army, battling with an uncompromising spirit, for freedom. In the conflict, the whole question as to the justification of the pulpit turns upon the relation of slavery to the Divine law. That the contest was political no one will deny. That it was also moral is equally true. If we admit the wrong of slavery, its incompatibility with the Divine law, the question is settled and we must approve the pulpit for its bravery in espousing so strongly the cause of liberty. If the civil legislation in behalf of slavery was wrong, then the pulpit was right in denouncing slavery and reproving its abettors.

Slavery is condemned by the law of nature. All reputable writers upon natural law have so pronounced. Christianity, Protestant and Catholic, with the Bible for a text book and guide, has confirmed the decision. The only exception to the general opinion of the enlightened nations of the earth upon this subject was found in the expressed opinion of the self-interested slaveholders of the South and their debauched political friends of the North. Slavery is clearly in violation of the revealed law. I will not reflect upon the intelligence of my readers by arguing the incompatibility of slavery with the Divine law. The man who now asks for evidence that the institution of slavery is not in harmony with God's law, is not worth the time spent in giving the proof.

He is either a blind and prejudiced partisan, handed down as a fossil from a former generation, or so grossly ignorant as to be incapable of comprehending an argument or feeling the force of the most cogent and conclusive reasoning, and has no claims to notice that an honest and intelligent man is bound to respect. The pulpit as the representative of the Divine law, must be justified in its relenting opposition to all civil legislation which had for its object the protection and enlargement of this unnatural and unscriptural institution, even though in so doing it came in direct conflict with one of the great political parties of the country.

CHAPTER V.

THE "HIGHER LAW."

The ten commandments are the constitution of God's moral government. They are the embodiment of the Divine law regulating human conduct, and also involved in the legislation of every civilized nation in the world.

Thus, being political in their character and relations, the pulpit is compelled to enter the political arena or ignore these great fundamental principles that form the basis of God's moral government for man.

I. IDOLATRY.

The First and Second Commandments.

"Thou shalt have no other Gods before me."

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth ;

Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them or serve them. "

Exodus, XX, 3, 4, 5.

For an age the great political question dividing two great State parties of the Roman Empire was the supremacy of Jehovah against the claims of idol gods. Fierce indeed was the conflict that for years was carried on by the leading spirits of that great empire upon the question of the sover-

eighty of Jehovah. Then the pulpit filled by the noble martyrs of the early church, planted on the first and second commandments, stood in the very focus of political excitement and discussion. Jehovah had said "I am the Lord thy God, and thou shalt have no other gods before me." "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth." But the authorities of the Roman empire declared an issue with Jehovah and proclaimed their legally instituted and ordained gods to be supreme. That was strictly a political question, for the Roman Senate had unlimited authority to legislate upon the subject of the religion of the empire. It was not only a political question, but came to be strictly a party question. The halls of the Roman Senate sounded not only with eloquent appeals for the supremacy of Jehovah, the Christian's God, but also with earnest and bitter denunciations of Christian worship and the sovereignty of Jehovah.

History tells us that "upon the accession of Valentinian II, many of the Senators who remained attached to the pagan idolatry made a vigorous effort to restore the worship of the heathen deities. Symmachus, a very opulent man and a great orator, who was at that time prefect of the city, was entrusted with the management of the pagan cause, and drew up a forcible petition, praying for the restoration of the altar of Victory to its ancient station in the hall of the Senate, the proper support of seven vestal virgins and the reg-

ular observance of other pagan ceremonies. In the petition he argued that this form of religion had long been profitable to the Roman State and reminded the Emperor how much Rome had been indebted to Victory, and that it had been the uniform custom of the senators to swear fidelity to the government upon that altar. " A crisis had now come, and it was a practical question whether the pulpit should refrain from the discussion of a political question which also involved the question of the supremacy of Jehovah. There was no hesitancy as to the line of duty on the part of the faithful ministers of that trying age. Had some of our leading pulpit orators of today, including at least some of those who are in high official positions in the various denominations, been within the Roman jurisdiction at that time, they would, doubtless, have counseled silence on this great political issue, lest by preaching against the *paganism* of this political party headed by Symmachus, the pulpit might "violate its vows." But no such sentiment was held by the watchmen who were charged with the duty of "crying aloud and sparing not," in that day when the supremacy of Jehovah was denied by a class of pagan politicians. Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who had in early life been a prominent lawyer, was selected as the representative of the pulpit, to argue the cause of Jehovah and his claims to supremacy as the only true God. Eloquently and logically he reviewed the petition of Symmachus and so overwhelmingly answered his arguments that paganism was defeated

and the supremacy of Jehovah sustained. Let the modern demagogues and pulpit traducers embrace in one view an age of Roman history and then answer the question whether the pulpit must be excluded from the political field. When that great empire was shaking as with a moral earthquake, convulsed from center to circumference upon the great question, whether Jehovah should be God, would it not have been a disgraceful and criminal recreancy in the pulpit to have deserted Jehovah, ignored the Bible, and trailed the banner of heaven's King in the dust? While the Roman Senate was engaged in excited debate upon that question, the decision of which was to fix the attitude of the empire as the friend or foe of God, should the representatives of Jehovah have closed their mouths in silence and cowardly retreated from the field? Would it have been proper for the Roman pulpit to have maintained during that political contest a studied silence upon the supremacy of Jehovah, lest by the expression of an opinion upon the sovereignty of God, it might antagonize the views of a political party which had sold itself out to paganism? Silence would have been criminal, and yet the Roman pulpit had to be silent or identify itself with one of the great political parties, and against the other, on the great political question of the day.

Nor can the intelligent Christian claim that St. Ambrose and his followers did wrong in meeting this question in the political arena. It had to be met in that field or the empire be lost to Christianity. It would have been treachery for the Christian citizen of Rome to have remained silent and

allowed paganism to capture the empire ; and it would have been treachery for the pulpit to have remained silent, simply because the question had become a party political question. Loyalty to God compelled the battle both in the pulpit and in the political arena. History repeats itself and an analogy exists to-day.

Glancing back over our own history, we find a period, not far in the past, when we as a nation seemed rapidly nearing the same issue. There was for years, in places of political power, and in the party politics of our country, an almost entire disregard of the authority of God. The amazing moral degradation of party political leaders, the unparalleled corruption in the financial operations of those in power as well as the oppression of the poor, whose chains of bondage were strengthened by the unjust and demoralizing political doctrines of party organizations,—all seemed to confirm the suspicion of a prevailing skepticism concerning the supremacy of a righteous God who will administer judgement in justice. In the organization of our government slavery was left as an acknowledged evil, that our Revolutionary fathers knew not how to dispose of, though none presumed to defend it as a just civil institution. And yet, notwithstanding this universal condemnation of slavery, and the prevailing disposition to get rid of it, in some way, at an early day, Thomas Jefferson, in referring to the wrongs of the institution, said, “ Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice

cannot sleep forever." What must have been the feeling had he lived at a later date of our country's history, when it seemed to be a serious question among politicians, whether the Constitution of the United States, as falsely interpreted and *misconstrued* by a miserable old pro-slavery judge, "who neither feared God nor man," or God's word, should be recognized as the higher authority, and as supreme in the land. Dignified senators ridiculed the "higher law," and congressmen seemed in doubt whether they should submit to God or require him to bow to their feet.

The whole tide of sentiment in the political party of our country tended directly to the denial of God's authority in national affairs. The religion of Christ was professedly excluded from their politics, and the doctrine was proclaimed by the editors in their journals, by the orators on their platform, and by the members of the party generally in their conversations, that a man's religion has no right to interfere with his political ideas nor his party relations. The whole theory thus proclaimed and defended with such tenacity, was simply the exaltation of a human government over the divine, and a demand that the laws of God must be set aside when they stand in the way of the success of party schemes. It was but a swelling tide of infidelity and atheism in the form of political organization; and the fact that some good men were deceived and carried along by the power of party attachment and the spirit of party strife does not affect the truth as to the character and ten-

dency of the doctrines of the party. The pulpit pledged to proclaim the doctrines of the "higher law," and to apply those doctrines to rights and morals, could not fail to come in collision with such a party. The question was fairly presented to the pulpit and it had to abandon the doctrine of the supremacy of Jehovah as involved in the "higher law," or by proclaiming that supremacy and applying it to certain moral questions involved in political issues, come in direct conflict with doctrines taught by the leading men of a political party organization, and reiterated by nearly all the members of that party. The pulpit generally kept a good conscience by manfully choosing the latter, and God has abundantly vindicated the correctness and wisdom of that choice. For that choice, however, the pulpit received the unqualified censure and bitter denunciations of Democratic politicians and of the members of that party generally, while Republicans universally applauded the pulpit for its determined stand in favor of right and morality. A score of years has wrought great changes. The Democratic party, following the growth of public sentiment, has adopted all the distinctive doctrines advocated by the Republican party twenty to thirty years ago, while the Republican party, having been captured by the rum power, against which the true and honest Gospel minister hurls the thunder-bolts of God's truth, now occupies exactly the same attitude toward the pulpit held by the Democratic party thirty years ago. The same theories are stated, the same denial of the right of the pulpit to preach politics is made, the same arguments

are presented, backed up by the same kind of profanity. Surely the Republicans have stolen Democratic thunder with which to assail the pulpit and if possible lessen its influence against the licensing of crime.

2. PROFANITY.

The Third Commandment.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

Exodus, XX, 7.

God's third commandment by which profanity is interdicted has been made political by the legislation of nearly all civilized countries, and to enforce from the pulpit this prohibition of God is to enter the political arena. If parties be divided upon the question of re-enacting by civil legislation God's prohibition of profane swearing, the minister who should dare to enforce the command, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," would be charged with preaching party politics; and if a candidate for office should bear a prominent reputation as a notoriously profane swearer, which is quite commonly the case in both of the old parties, the enjoining from the pulpit of God's third command would be sufficient cause in the minds of small politicians, for the charge that the minister had taken part in a political campaign. Our laws prohibiting profanity are poorly enforced. Many of our legislators and judicial and executive officers are constant violators of the law, and for the pulpit in the interest of morality and for the protection of society from demoralization, to insist upon enforcement, would be an offence to these

profane politicians and would be in the field of politics as well as morals. Indeed any honest effort upon the part of those charged with the responsibility of enforcing law, to enforce our laws upon the subject of profanity would certainly bring into existence an *organized* effort against such enforcement and probably for the repeal of the law. In such an event there could be no alternative for the faithful pulpit. It must enter the field of political discussion and lead the moral forces of the community in the contest against wicked politicians who have no respect for the law of God, and who are opposed to all legislation for the protection of society from immoral influences.

3. SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

The Fourth Commandment.

“Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor any stranger that is within thy gates.

For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it.”

Exodus, XX. 8, 11.

The fourth commandment enjoins the observance of the Sabbath, God's holy day, which he has set apart to be kept sacred unto himself. This also is a proper subject for civil legislation and has been so recognized by all Christian nations. It has also been made political by its gross violations in the postal arrangements of our government, and by the general disregard of the Sabbath on the part of poli-

ticians and government officers. No minister has ever faithfully enforced the obligations of the Sabbath without coming in conflict, at least in spirit, with the practice of our rulers in their public acts. In the early part of the war of the rebellion Sunday was a great day for military operations; and in the midst of national calamities, while the judgements of God were descending upon us for our sins, our own government seemed to have forgotten that God has a Sabbath, and the so-called "Confederate States" never seemed to find it out. Troops were mustered in and out of service; they were unnecessarily drilled, marched and transported on the Sabbath. Battles were projected and fought, and extensive military operations undertaken, just as if God had not said, "Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy." The fight and humiliating flight on Sunday, July 31st, 1861, was a fitting finale to a course of reckless and inexcusable Sabbath-breaking in our military operators. It is a remarkable fact that in all the important battles of the rebellion which were begun on Sunday, the General making the attack was defeated. God was teaching us that even in war the obligations of the Sabbath are to be recognized.

Our nation is today a great Sabbath-breaker. The carrying of mails on the Sabbath is neither a work of mercy nor necessity. Government officials are kept at work on the holy Sabbath, in direct violation of God's command. This Sabbath question is not only a political question because of civil legislation thereon and the wicked complicity

of the government with Sabbath-breaking, but it has come to be a party question and to teach Sabbath observance from the pulpit is to speak on God's side of a party political question. One political party of this country boldly affirms its recognition of God as the sovereign of nations, and demands proper legislation honestly enforced for the protection of the Christian Sabbath. It has been claimed that the Prohibition party has unfairly and unjustly attempted to force this question into party politics. The statement, however, is utterly false. The Republican party in 1872 put this question into party politics by the adoption of the sixteenth resolution of its platform, commonly known as the Raster resolution. That resolution was so worded as to leave room for a doubt as to its intended application. A letter was addressed to Mr. Raster, its author, who was also a member of the committee on resolutions, asking for an explanation of its meaning. He promptly and candidly replied that it was intended to antagonize prohibitory and *Sunday* laws, and that it was distinctly so understood by the committee. No member of that committee ever published any disclaimer to the statement of Mr. Raster. The party has never rescinded the resolution nor disclaimed the interpretation. On the contrary, the Republican National Convention in 1884 affirmed all previous platforms of the party, including that of 1872 with its sixteenth resolution, and with a perfect knowledge of the interpretation of that resolution given by its author. The Republican party

therefore stands pledged to its own record, not only against prohibition, but also against Sunday laws. That this record has had its influence upon the legislation and administration of the party there can be no doubt. There has been since 1872 a growing looseness all over the Northern States on the Sunday question. It has been almost impossible to secure any available legislation on that subject, and it has been equally impossible to secure under the administration of either of the old parties the enforcement of Sunday laws. Witness, as a sample of Republican legislation on that subject, and as indicating the trend of Republican sentiment, the provision of that eminently Republican measure passed by the Ohio legislature, called the Dow law, by which municipalities in that state are authorized to set aside the law of God, and in violation of the spirit of their own constitution, legalize the selling of liquor on Sunday. Chicago boasts of a reform administration under Republican rule, but the Sunday laws found upon our statute are utterly ignored, and God's law concerning the sacredness of the Sabbath, though re-enacted by the state with penal sanctions, is treated with contempt by the Republican authorities of Chicago. When Mr. Hempstead Washburne was inaugurated as mayor of Chicago he issued an order for the closing of the gambling dens. His Democratic predecessor, Mr. Creiger, had said that such an order could not be enforced. Enforcement, however, was promptly secured. The friends of law and order were encouraged, but within a few days the new Republican mayor announced that he was in sym-

pathy with the Germans on the Sunday question and that the laws against selling liquor on Sunday would not be enforced or, in other words, that he would issue no order for the closing of the saloons on Sunday, and no such order has been issued. He had taken an oath to enforce the laws of the State and the city, but his allegiance to a Republican doctrine set forth in the Raster resolution in 1872 and re-enacted in 1884, had more influence than his oath in his administration. We do not claim that the Democratic party of the North is any better on this subject than the Republican party. In the general sentiment of its membership it may be worse. It is certain that both of the old parties are committed through their leaders and controlling politicians to Sunday desecration. On the first Sunday in November, 1884, James G. Blaine, the honored head and representative of the Republican party, traveled all day on a special train, run for his accomodation, and made brief party political speeches at several places where the people had assembled to see him as he passed. This Sunday trip was an insult to God and an offence to every Christian in the nation, and yet no notice was taken of it by the Republican party. Even Christian members of that party winked at the insult to the Christian religion, and spoke of it as a small matter when compared with the heinous sin of voting for a prohibitionist and Christian for president.

The Prohibition party by the adoption of its resolution on the Sunday question, thus placing itself in harmony with the Bible and the Christian religion, only accepted the chal-

lence of the Republican party, which had years before put itself on record as opposed to Sunday laws, sanctioned its own record by the looseness of its administration, and whose chieftain and "plumed knight" capped the climax and exhibited his opposition to the prohibition platform, and his contempt for God, by traveling in a special car and making campaign speeches on God's holy day.

The pulpit cannot enforce the sacredness of the Sabbath without coming in conflict with the Republican party as controlled by its political leaders. That the great body of the voters in that party have no sympathy with its position on this subject is doubtless true, but the doctrines of the party are formulated and announced, and its administration dictated by the politicians and not by the membership of the party who unfortunately are led like sheep to the slaughter.

There is now in existence in many places an organized effort to control our municipal governments in the interest of a continental Sabbath. It is claimed that no special sanctity attaches to the Sabbath—that it is no more than any other day. By this doctrine it is proposed to justify the publishing of newspapers, the running of trains, and the keeping open of saloons and beer gardens, gambling houses and places of amusement on the Sabbath. If this should become a test question in the election of a city council, must the pulpit be silent because ungodly politicians have determined to rob the Sabbath of its sanctity in order to accomplish their unholy purposes? No Christian man could ad-

vocate such a course, and yet to enforce the law of God would be to preach politics. The Christian Sabbath is the chief corner stone of our Christian civilization. If that Sabbath be destroyed the light of our civilization will go out. The politicians in bidding for the votes of the vicious classes will destroy our Christian Sabbath, unless the Christians of this country combine for its legal protection. That combination will not take place unless the pulpit, true to its trust, shall sound the alarm and create and lead public sentiment in this great issue, already made in the party politics of this country. The pulpit must preach politics or be responsible for the death of Christianity in the land.

4. PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

The Fifth Commandment.

“Honor thy father and thy mother ; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.”

Exodus. XX, 12.

The subordination of the child to the authority of the parent is of Divine authority, and at the same time of great practical importance to the state. Obedient citizens come from well governed families where parental authority is enforced, while the hordes of lawless men and women, found among the vicious classes of our country come largely from families seriously defective in family government. One of the great evils which cast their shadows over the future of our country, weakening hope and producing alarm, is the almost universal laxness in the exercise of parental authority and the consequent freedom of the child from the res-

traints of law. The young man who has never learned obedience in the home is not likely to make a good, law-abiding citizen. Hence the interest of the State in the purity and government of the home. The pulpit cannot relinquish its right and duty to proclaim God's law concerning the relations of parent and child in the family, nor can the State yield its right and duty to protect and perpetuate the home as an adjunct of good society and a necessary perquisite to successful civil government. And if, at any time, the State should seek through vicious legislation to overthrow parental authority and thus destroy the peace and order of the home, it would be the imperative duty of the pulpit to antagonize such legislation and proclaim authoritatively God's law upon this subject.

Indeed the time has come when the legislation of our country does interfere with the proper exercise of parental authority and does aim at the destruction of the home. Every saloon in our country is a menace to the home because of its influence in producing idleness, recklessness and crime. The licensed saloon system greatly diminishes the power of parents to properly govern their families, by increasing the difficulties to be overcome. The saloon demoralizes its young victims, robs the boy of his better impulses and makes it impossible for him to honor his father and mother. Nor can the family whose sons never enter the saloon entirely escape its influence. The ability of parents to rightly govern their families depends very much upon the associations of

their sons and daughters. The demoralizing influence of the saloon is often felt by those who never enter it, but who from their environments, are led to mingle more or less, with the victims of the liquor traffic. The street manner and language of a saloon town necessarily affect those who are exposed to their influences and thus the legalized saloon reaches the sanctity of the home and interferes with the efforts of loving and careful parents to properly train their children, and does certainly lessen the disposition of those children to obey God's law by honoring their parents. Even from this standpoint the pulpit should assail the saloon and condemn any political party pledged to its support or managed in its interests.

5. THE SALOON A MURDERER.

The Sixth Commandment.

"Thou shalt not kill."

Exodus, XX, 13.

The sixth commandment which prohibits *murder*, is not only political by legislative re-enactment, but also by virtue of its connection with the temperance and prohibition agitation. He who puts the poisonous cup, containing the seeds of death, to his own or another's lips, is a murderer of himself or neighbor. No minister can faithfully enforce the command: "Thou shalt not kill," in all its appropriate and important applications without giving a terrible rebuke to the whole *rum traffic*, as well as the drinking of alcoholic liquors. That traffic, legalized and sustained by the license system which is the prevailing policy under

the political doctrines and administration of the old parties and therefore found in operation in most of our villages and cities, is a fearful source of murder as well as of other crimes. It matters not whether I take the life of myself or of another, it is murder. Nor does it matter whether that life be taken instantly by the use of a bowie knife, dagger, or bullet, or whether by inches, I torture myself or my neighbor to death. Nor is the case altered, even though my neighbor pay me money for taking his life and bringing him to an untimely grave, his wife to poverty-stricken widowhood, and his children to wretched orphanage. *It is murder still.*

He who knowingly places in the hands of a maniac a razor with which to cut his throat is responsible for the crime of murder as an accessory to the act ; and he who for money will place the intoxicating bowl in the hands of a maddened and passion-chained inebriate is equally guilty of the same crime. It must be admitted that the man who produces the inebriate is as guilty of murder as the man who furnishes the poison to gratify his craving appetite and who thus finishes the work already begun. The drunkard-maker is a greater enemy to society and a worse criminal than the man who simply snuffs out a ruined life.

But this crime of murder, which God so imperatively prohibits, falls not alone on those who drink or sell poisonous drinks. Our land is full of drunkard makers who neither drink nor sell intoxicants. The saloon is in the

politics of our country and no voter can escape his personal responsibility for the continuance of the drunkard-making business. Every man who votes directly or indirectly for the legalizing of the liquor traffic, whether the license or tax upon it be high or low, is a drunkard-maker and must share with the saloon-keeper the guilt of murdering his fellow men in violation of the sixth commandment. Even the man who declines to vote for the prohibition and suppression of this evil is *particeps criminis* in as much as he who suffers wrong upon his neighbor, which he had the power to hinder is equally guilty with him who does the wrong. And yet two great political parties, upholding by their political creeds, influence and votes, the liquor traffic with all its sinks of iniquity and abodes of wretchedness, weeping widows and crying orphans, stains of blood and deeds of murder, are bidding against each other for the whisky vote of this country, striving for supremacy with little regard for the honor of methods, and hurling their anathemas upon all who advocate political organization (the only possible remedy,) for the overthrow of this great wrong. It may be justly claimed that there are many voters in these old parties who are not in sympathy with the saloon, who would be glad to see the liquor traffic suppressed and the State relieved from the guilt of this vast system of legalized murder. So much the worse for those who are so far enlightened upon this subject as to comprehend the iniquity of this traffic, and yet persist in voting with the parties which are pledged to its protection and per-

manency. The authoritative records of the two old parties on this subject are beyond question as to their intended meaning. The anti-sumptuary resolution of the National Democratic platform has been until recently, uniformly interpreted by the press and platform orators of that party to condemn prohibitory legislation. They have in violation of all authorities accepted the saloon-keepers' definition of the word *sumptuary*, and committed their party against prohibition by this interpretation of their National platform, which is the highest expression of party doctrine. It is true that the word *sumptuary* correctly used has no such meaning, but its constant use among Democrats, including their press and politicians, as applied to prohibitory legislation, clearly gives it this meaning in the Democratic platform, and nothing short of a disclaimer in the platform itself can ever relieve the party from this interpretation. For a Democrat who knows that the word correctly used has no such meaning, to attempt to dodge personal responsibility on that ground is the grossest stupidity or the basest dishonesty. No man can evade his responsibility for maintaining the well-known sentiment of the party with which he votes by an attempted quibble upon the unauthorized and wrong use of a word in that party. Every voter must be held responsible for sustaining the political doctrines of his party as formulated from the general concensus of opinion as held by the party leaders and managers and exhibited in their administration.

Judged by this just rule the Democratic party must be essentially a whisky party, opposed to the prohibition of the liquor traffic, and guilty of complicity with murder, notwithstanding the fact that many of its members who commit the egregious blunder of trying to keep it in power, have no sympathy with its infamous doctrines and murderous practices.

The pulpit must enforce the law of God. Murder is a violation of God's command. The liquor traffic is a murderer. The legalized liquor traffic is legalized murder. The Democratic party is the friend and supporter of the liquor traffic. Every member of a party who uses his elective franchise to keep that party in power, is responsible for the character of that party, and for the evils that may result from its wicked administration. If we turn to the Republican party, we shall find a record on this subject as unenviable as that of the Democratic party. Republican legislatures have repealed more prohibitory laws than they have enacted. The National Republican administration has been thoroughly dominated by the whisky power. Under that administration the saloon became a ruling power in politics, and the liquor traffic, flattered and fostered, grew to its immense proportions and political power. In 1872, at the demand of the saloon power, the noted Raster resolution was placed in the Republican platform. On July 8, 1872, Mr. J. M. Miller, of Portsmouth, Mich., addressed a letter to Mr. Raster, asking an explanation of that resolution. On the 10th instant Mr. Raster returned the following reply:

“*Dear Sir; In reply to yours of July 8, I have to say that I have written the sixteenth resolution of the Philadelphia platform and that it was adopted by the platform committee with the full and explicit understanding that the purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (prohibitory) and Sunday laws. This purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State government; it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for all acts committed while under the influence of strong drink,) and the right to look upon the day on which Christians have their prayer meetings as any other day, were among rights not delegated by the people but reserved to themselves. Whether this explanation of the meaning of the resolution will satisfy you or not, I do not know, but as you want to serve the cause of truth, so do I, and what I have stated in regard to the true meaning and intent of the sixteenth resolution of the Philadelphia platform IS THE TRUTH.*”

No member of that committee ever published any denial of the statement made by Mr. Raster. The silence of the party leaders has been a tacit admission of the correctness of his explanation. No subsequent convention ever even modified the resolution or disclaimed Mr. Raster's interpretation. In 1884, Miss Francis E. Willard, as the representative of the W. C. T. U., and of the general temperance sentiment of the country, was permitted to address the committee on the platform. She did not ask that the Republi-

can party should endorse prohibition, but simply the policy of submitting this question to the people and allowing them to determine whether they would have prohibition. Miss Willard was politely dismissed from the committee room, and Green B. Raum, as the representative of the saloon interests of the country was admitted. In behalf of his constituents, the saloon element, he not only demanded that the policy of submitting this question should not be adopted, but became aggressive and demanded that assurances satisfactory to the German, beer-drinking wing of the Republican party should be given. Mr. Raum threatened the Republican party with the loss of the German vote and got substantially what he asked for as appears in the fact that a resolution was reported by the committee and adopted with great unanimity by the convention reaffirming the previous platforms of the party including that of 1872 with its sixteenth resolution and Mr. Raster's interpretation of the same unchallenged. The Republican State Convention of Illinois, in 1886, put itself on record as endorsing all previous platforms of the National conventions, which action was well known to have special reference to the sixteenth resolution of 1872. The authorized position of the Republican party is therefore unequivocal. It is not only opposed to the protection of the Christian Sabbath by civil statute, but also opposed to the protection of the home from the ravages of the saloon. It is useless to appeal to the admitted fact that many members of that party have no sympathy with

its platform doctrines. As long as they vote with the party they publicly endorse its authoritative announcements of public policy, and like the same class of Democrats, are personally responsible for the evils flowing from the wicked administration which they sustain. These two old parties are essentially unchristian. *Their policy of licensing crime and receiving a revenue for the legal sanction of vice is in direct antagonism to God's commands.* Whisky is the political god of this country and rumselling murderers are influential members of both the old parties, while the liquor dealers' associations are courted as an element of power essential to party success which is uniformly recognized by the old party leaders as more important than principle.

Nor has there been any change in the attitude of these old parties except perhaps for the worse. The Democratic party is hopelessly committed, both by its record and administration, to the perpetuity of the saloon and against prohibition. The National Republican Convention in 1888, boldly and with spirit, rejected in its platform committee, the proposition to favor the submission in the several states of a constitutional amendment, prohibiting the liquor traffic. Just at the close of the convention, a so-called temperance resolution was moved and adopted, which, however, did not even intimate any opposition to the saloon nor to the liquor traffic in any form, for which every distiller, every brewer, every saloon keeper in the convention voted, and on which every advocate of the liquor traffic in the United States

could stand. The Brewer's Congress had adopted a much stronger temperance resolution. The present administration following the adoption of the resolution referred to, has been the most servile to the demands of the liquor oligarchy of any in the history of our country.

A treaty having been agreed upon by the representatives of eighteen leading nations of the world, containing provisions for the prohibition of the slave trade, and the liquor traffic in the new Congo State in Africa, was submitted to those nations for ratification. According to the provisions of the treaty, the action of the nations interested was to be reported at Berlin, July 1st, 1891, and the treaty had to be ratified by all of the eighteen nations in order to become effective. Seventeen of the nations promptly ratified the treaty but the Senate of the United States, at the dictation of the whisky ring, declined to do so. Our government, alone, was so dominated by the liquor power in politics as to yield to its dictation and thus defeat this just and humane measure.

For sixteen years a large number of the best citizens of our country, men and women, have petitioned each succeeding Congress for the appointment of a commission to investigate the influence of the liquor traffic upon the moral and educational and financial interests of our country. Mr. Louis Schade, the attorney of the National Liquor Dealers' Association, and editor of the Washington Sentinel, the great organ of the liquor traffic, has repeatedly boasted that

he defeated the resolution for the appointment of such commission of inquiry, and did so in the interest of his clients. Every Congress for sixteen years has refused to authorize an investigation of this subject.

Recently "Some of the Brewers," of our country petitioned the state department of our government to investigate the subject of the beer trade in the Spanish American States. The request was immediately granted. A circular letter was addressed to our consuls in those countries. Their replies were collated and published at government expense, for distribution among brewers and saloon-keepers, while the State department, over the signature of the Secretary, condescended to downright lying to avoid distributing them among the clergy. In answer to letters applying for this pamphlet for distribution among ministers it was officially declared, over the signature of the Secretary of State, that the edition was exhausted and no more copies could be sent out. Immediately after, indeed in one case the very next day after the date of such letter, packages of from six to twenty copies each were sent out on application for the same to be distributed among brewers and saloon-keepers. This is all in politics. It is a part of the administration of our government. Does any intelligent man believe it is the duty of the pulpit to keep silent when these great wrongs are perpetrated in the arena of politics? Our government, through the State department, has been officially lending its influence to the spread of a great system of

murder. Not satisfied with killing its own citizens, for the consideration of the whisky vote, it now seeks to spread this iniquity that breeds pauperism, crime, disease and death over other lands. Shall the pulpit remain silent because a political party is responsible for this crime?

Thus political parties in our own country, with all its civilization and professed Christianity, have given their consent and support to that which involves the crime of murder and God says "Thou shalt not kill." What now must the pulpit do? It must either, vanquished, quit the field, and let the devil and fallen humanity triumph, or in preaching against murder, as required by the law of God, reprove intemperance with the whole liquor traffic, and thus enter the political arena by coming in direct conflict with the known and avowed policies of the two old political parties, and condemning interests cherished and protected by national, state and municipal legislation. The honest and faithful minister has no alternative. He must obey the mandates of heaven, let the truth pierce whom it may. He must "cry aloud and spare not," even though the partisans howl with rage and unscrupulous politicians curse with bitterness.

6. THE SOCIAL EVIL.

The Seventh Commandment.

“Thou shalt not commit adultery.”

Exodus, XX. 14.

The seventh commandment prohibits adultery, and in doing so involves the whole subject of sexual relations. These questions, however, have been and must be subjects of civil legislation. The pulpit must, with prudence and delicacy, enforce the Bible law of chastity and yet the State must protect society from the evils growing out of a disregard of that law. In Utah, the question of polygamy is emphatically political. Elections turn upon that question. The Mormons and so-called Gentiles vote opposing tickets, the question of polygamous marriages and the enforcement of laws against the same being the chief question at issue.

Nearly all the States of our Union absolutely prohibit the licensing of bawdy houses. On the 27th of March, 1874, the Legislature of Illinois approved an act prohibiting the licensing of houses of ill-fame and appended to that act is the following declaration :

“Whereas the legislative authorities of certain cities in this state are about to license houses of ill-fame, therefore an emergency exists why this act should take effect immediately, therefore, this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.”

There was a direct issue as to the policy to be pursued toward the social evil. The city councils of Chicago, Pe-

oria and some other cities in Illinois were so abominably corrupt as to propose to give legal sanction to licentiousness, in violation of the law of God and of common decency. It was a political question and yet it was a question in the field of Christian morals from which the pulpit could not allow itself to be driven. This question of social purity is one with which the legislature must deal for the protection of society against the corrupting influence of beastly men and women. The pulpit must also deal with this form of immorality and especially must it condemn in the most emphatic manner any proposition made by the politicians to legalize and protect licentiousness.

This question, as a political question, is also involved in the personal character of many men in public life. In Washington City there stands a house, (or did a few years ago), not very far from the capitol, known as the congressional house of prostitution. Only members of congress and other high officials are admitted to that "high-toned" (?) brothel, and yet that sink of iniquity under the shadow of our national capitol is said to be well patronized by our nation's high officials. In one of our presidential elections the candidates of the two great parties of this country were under a dark cloud of social impurity coming up from their earlier life. To preach against social impurity during that campaign, was easily construed by implication to be a protest against the candidates of two political parties. The people of this great Christian nation seemed to condone

this vice of social impurity and wink at this iniquity by placing one of these men in the presidential chair. Had the other been elected the case would have been but little better. Politicians boldly took the position that social purity had nothing to do with fitness for public office. The moral sense of the public on this subject was greatly demoralized, the public conscience has been weakened, and unrestrained licentiousness fostered and aggravated by the use of intoxicants, is rapidly becoming the great vice of our country. The public sentiment against social impurity in official life, as indicated by the agitation of that question over the Parnell case, is certainly stronger in Great Britain than in this country. The pulpit must be heard on this subject and the Christian sentiment of the land awakened and its force exerted, or the nation must perish. The White Cross movement, and the social purity department of the W. C. T. U. should be everywhere encouraged and aided, but that does not relieve the pulpit from its duty in this field of moral conflict. The Christian church must be aroused, and party leaders must be taught that candidates whose social purity is questionable cannot receive the suffrage of Christian voters. In this work the pulpit has a mission which it cannot delegate and a responsibility which it cannot escape. Shall the pulpit be silent upon this great evil because it is and must be a political question? When men in political associations array themselves against God, the more need of faithfulness on the part of his ministry.

7. THEFT.

The Eighth Commandment.

“Thou shalt not steal.”

Exodus, XX. 15.

The eighth commandment says: “Thou shalt not steal.” This means a great deal more than the act of taking what belongs to another under cover of darkness, or in the absence and without the knowledge of the owner. It involves the principles of deception in trade, extortion and robbing by oppression. The commandment evidently embraces the taking and appropriating to personal ownership and use what properly belongs to another, whether that be done by stealth, by deception, by taking advantage of another’s circumstances, or by oppression through superior power.

They who changed money and sold doves at exorbitant prices, taking advantage of those who must have them to offer in sacrifice according to the requirement of the law, had appropriated a place in the temple for conducting their business. Jesus said; “It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of *thieves*.” They were not common thieves who went about in the darkness of the night to purloin their neighbors’ property, but they took more than was just and equal in trade because the circumstances of their customers required them to buy and placed them at the mercy of unscrupulous brokers and

traders. Those heartless dealers in money and doves took those exorbitant profits with the consent of those who bought of them. There was no compulsion or exercise of brute force, and yet the Savior, understanding well the extortion, said: "Ye have made my house a den of thieves." If extortion without force be theft, surely extortion by compulsion can be no less a crime.

The logical and eminently just interpretation of the eighth commandment led the pulpit of this country a third of a century ago into the very midst of political agitation and discussion. The two great political parties of this country were both essentially proslavery. They were in abject servitude, on their knees, bidding for the proslavery vote. Under the moral conviction of Christian teaching a new party was formed, based upon the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and one of the old parties became extinct while the other became more intense and outspoken as the supporter of the slave oligarchy. Slavery, with all its moral issues was now the great political question that divided the two great political parties. With the broad application which Christ the Divine Teacher gives to the act of stealing, which God prohibits, there could be no doubt as to the relation of slavery to the eighth commandment. If I meet a poor man and am stronger than he, what matters it whether I extort from him one dollar in gold or the worth of one dollar in labor, save in the latter case I not only rob him, but also degrade him by reducing him to slavery. And what matters it whether by superior

force I take from a man his accumulated gold, the earnings of the hard and wearisome toil of fifty years, or by the same superior force extort from him the labor of those fifty years in my own corn, rice, cane and cotton fields? Only in the latter case I not only rob him of the honest toil of fifty years, but in addition, subjugate his will, take away his freedom and thus destroy his manhood. Hence slavery in its best form, without any of its darker and inhuman features, such as the separation of families, the entire disregard of the marriage relation and forcible violation of female chastity, which are common accompaniments of the system, is far worse than common theft in that it robs man, not only of his money, but of his manhood also. It would follow with logical force that the man who apologizes for slavery, who is politically the friend of slave-holders and who understandingly gives his influence and his vote to sustain that abomination in the land is guilty of a baser crime against God and humanity than the man who has been the friend and harborer of common thieves and highway robbers.

Such was the reasoning of an intelligent and conscientious pulpit a quarter of a century ago when the whole country was in a blaze of excitement over this politico-religious question. No minister could then properly, thoroughly and fully enforce the eighth commandment in all its appropriate applications to human conduct without coming in direct conflict with one of the great political parties of the

country and involving at least an implied sympathy with the other. Mr. James G. Blaine in his valuable work entitled, "Twenty Years in Congress," in writing of that agitation which gave rise to the organization and triumph of the Republican party, says, "It was not viewed on either side as an ordinary political contest. It was felt to be a question not of expediency but of morality, not of policy but of honor. It did not merely enlist men. Women took large part in the agitation. It did not end with absorbing the laity. *The clergy were as profoundly concerned.*" One petition was addressed to Congress containing the signatures of three thousand clergymen. Mr. Blaine does not even intimate any condemnation of the church and clergy for their activity in the agitation of this great moral question and their untiring efforts to influence political action in favor of human freedom. One great question, *both political and moral*, was before the American people for settlement. It permeated all other questions of national policy and all men and women who had either mind or politics were either for or against the protection and spread of human slavery by the action of the general government. All efforts to exclude this question from the field of politics proved unavailing. Indeed those who foolishly talked of a finality to the slavery question as the result of compromise measures only evinced their want of comprehensive statesmanship. God could not allow a great Christian people to live at peace with this monster evil, while it was prey-

ing upon the very vitals of Christianity and sapping the foundations of our liberties. The civilizations of the slave-pen and school-house could not be harmonized by compromise, nor could the agitation be quieted nor the question relegated from the field of politics. The "irrepressible conflict" had to move on.

Slavery as a great system of theft had to be reprov'd and condemned by a faithful pulpit, and yet one of the political parties of the country had not only determined to maintain slavery where it was but also to place upon its dark and bloody banner the seal of nationality. The faithful pulpit had no choice. It must enter the political arena and sound its warning voice upon a great question involved in party politics or be guilty of treachery toward him who commands his ministers to "Cry aloud and spare not." The church and the clergy of the North were, in the main, true to God and humanity. To the influence of the clergy was due the rapid growth of the Republican party and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

The loyal sentiment of the North was largely maintained during the civil war through the influence of a loyal pulpit and the earnest work of the clergy both in the pulpit and on the platform served to check the "fire in the rear" and turn the tide of public sentiment in favor of maintaining the Union.

President Lincoln thanked God for the churches and for a loyal pulpit that was not afraid to speak out on a great

political question involving a moral issue, even though a great political party might be offended thereby.

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818, and in the session of the General Assembly of 1822-3, by a piece of disgraceful political trickery, the requisite two-thirds' vote for calling a constitutional convention was obtained. The object was to make Illinois a slave state. The call, however, had to be indorsed by a majority vote of the people before the convention could be convened. The most excited campaign ever fought in Illinois followed, in which the pulpit took a prominent part. Gov. Ford in his "History of Illinois" says that "the preachers preached against the convention and against slavery." There was a majority of about 2,000 against the convention, and it is quite certain that the pulpit saved Illinois from becoming a slave state.

8. THEFT AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

We have seen that the command "Thou shalt not steal," as interpreted by Christ himself, covers the whole system of extortion in which one class of men take advantage of the circumstances and necessities of another class.

The liquor traffic lives upon the existence of a vicious appetite, the gratification of which is always an injury to the victim of strong drink. The saloon flourishes upon the woes of humanity, and the saloon-keeper fills his pockets with money which rightfully belongs to other parties.

He who takes advantage of another man's appetite and

takes his money for that which has in it no value, is as guilty of stealing as he who charges an exorbitant price for an article which another must have. The latter Christ denominates theft. The former can be no less. Indeed, it is theft, *concentrated and emphasized*. According to Christ's teaching, then, the saloon-keeper is a thief. He is a violator of the eighth commandment. He gives to his victim no equivalent for that which he takes. His business is robbery, and robbery is, in every form, a violation of God's command against theft. When God said, "Thou shalt not steal," he clearly meant to prohibit every form of appropriating to ourselves what justly belongs to others. The greatest steal ever perpetrated on the American continent is the annual theft by the saloon-keepers, and their allies, of a billion of dollars from the deluded victims of their nefarious traffic. Boss Tweed was a great scoundrel, and well deserved a place in the felon's cell. The Cook county boodlers richly deserve the execration of all good people, and a home in the penitentiary for the full term allowed by the law for their crime. The various disgraceful steals of senators and representatives in congress, and members of state legislatures have been sufficient in frequency and enormity to arouse the indignation of an honest and abused pulpit. But those all dwindle into insignificance when compared with the legalized theft which the saloon system of this country is perpetrating upon the unfortunate victims of strong drink, and their suffering families.

A half million thieves, (including manufacturers and wholesale and retail dealers) are protected by law in the violation of God's eighth commandment, and yet the pulpit is admonished to keep out of the political arena and leave the domain of law to the management of politicians.

But other parties still, are involved in this great crime. He who hides stolen goods or protects the thief, becomes a party to the theft and a colleague of the thief. Thus the government of the United States becomes a monstrous thief, stealing a billion dollars annually by the protection and encouragement of the liquor traffic, and accepting one hundred millions of dollars as its share of that unparalleled steal from its victimized and suffering subjects.

The policy of the general government for more than twenty years has been that of protection of the liquor traffic for the sake of the revenue derived from it. That revenue is a part of the blood money stolen from the people by the saloon system of our country. Behind the administration of the government are the two organized political parties that have been in power in the general government and in all states of the Union for the past twenty years. Those two parties have been, as a rule, the friends of the saloon; they have protected the liquor traffic and given their influence to its perpetuity and growth, and they must stand at the bar of public intelligence, morality and conscience condemned as *two great thieves* that have given their consent and influence to this gigantic robbery.

But parties are made up of individuals, and party crimes must fall back upon individual responsibility. The party voter who, regardless of the conduct of his party leaders, and the complicity of his party with crime, uses his franchise to maintain party dominations, involves himself in responsibility for the corruption of his party. Democratic and Republican voters are responsible for the attitude of those parties toward the saloon system. The voters are responsible for the continuance in power of the two old whisky parties, and those parties are responsible for the continuance of the saloon and its power to make this immense steal of a billion dollars annually from an unfortunate class of our citizens.

The logic, which is clear and unavoidable, inevitably leads to an unwelcome and humiliating conclusion. *We are a nation of thieves.* As the temple of old was made "a den of thieves" by the extortion practiced therein, so we are a nation of thieves, by virtue of our continuing in power political organizations which are pledged to the maintenance of an awful system of robbery.

In localities where local option obtains, whether by counties or municipalities, the relation is, if possible more direct. He who votes for licensing a crime, makes himself responsible for the existence of that crime. It does not alter the case to claim that the crime would have existed in some form if not licensed. This may or may not be true, but whether true or not, makes no difference as to

the responsibility of the man who votes for the license. If I vote to license an act which involves *theft* under Christ's broad definition of that term, I become an accomplice in that crime. We have seen that the system is a gigantic system of legalized theft, as well as murder, and every man who votes to license this system, and especially with an eye to the revenue that comes from it, hoping thereby to diminish his own taxes, is a *thief* within the Bible sense of that word, and is violating the eighth commandment, which says : "Thou shalt not steal."

This whole question is thoroughly political. It is not only political, but it is a party question, there being two political parties in this country which are in sympathy with the saloon and managed in its interest, and one which is pledged for its total suppression. The faithful pulpit must preach against *theft* and denounce *stealing*, and apply this prohibition of God against *stealing* to the liquor traffic, even though sensitive Democrats and Republicans may become restive under the logical inference that may be drawn, and exhort the pulpit to let politics alone.

The pulpit is the divinely authorized teacher of this world upon morality and Christian duty, and it is exceedingly impertinent for politicians to attempt to drive the pulpit from the discussion of moral questions simply because they are also political ; and for time-serving ministers to accept the dictum of politicians on this subject is base treachery to the Master.

9. FALSE SWEARING.

The Ninth Commandment.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Exodus XX, 16.

Perjury is very properly included among the subjects of civil legislation. Indeed, to omit this subject from the subjects of legislative action would greatly embarrass the government in the administration of law, and in many cases would make it absolutely impossible to reach the demands of justice. If the State did not enforce integrity in testimony by the application of severe penalties for perjury there could be no honest enforcement of the law nor any protection of the innocent from the base designs of the vicious classes. The State must legislate on this subject and yet the pulpit must not abandon its right and duty to discuss and enforce the commandment of God upon this very important requirement of Christian life. The legislature must enact and the pulpit must preach upon the same subject, and hence the pulpit must occupy the field of politics, by the discussion of this political question.

This question of perjury has been rapidly and extensively assuming another phase of vast importance to our country. The oath of office brings with it a sacred obligation and he who solemnly swears, to perform the duties of an office, with which he has been entrusted, according to the provisions of the law, and then with indifference to the law violates its provisions or fails to make reasonable effort for its enforcement is a perjurer and ought to be so held and

treated. The assessors of Illinois, and perhaps other states, take an oath to assess all property, real and personal, at its fair cash value, and then by actual collusion arrange and agree to violate their oaths.

Municipal government in our country, is fast coming to be a reproach and a stench in the nostrils of justice because of the widespread perjury among municipal officials. Good and wholesome ordinances enacted for the public good, in harmony with the highest intelligence and the public conscience are dead letters upon our city statutes and the vicious classes with impunity trespass upon the rights of society, demoralize communities, and destroy human happiness. The present mayor of Chicago, Hempstead Washburne, was not at all *sui generis* when notwithstanding his oath to enforce all the laws binding upon the citizens of Chicago both state and municipal, he announced that he should not interfere with liquor selling on the Sabbath. He is only the last of a succession of Chicago mayors, all of whom have utterly and wilfully failed to perform their solemn oaths to enforce the law. Saloons are open on Sunday, liquors are sold daily, and with the knowledge of the police force, to thousands of minors, both boys and girls, and also to multitudes of habitual drunkards, gambling is carried on with impunity, save an occasional effort to render it less public, and, on certain streets and avenues, houses of prostitution are as open, and patronized with as little molestation as the licensed saloon. What is true of Mayor Washburne, is

true of perhaps the majority of mayors in our country, what is true of the police force of Chicago is true of a large majority of the cities and larger towns of our country. By this unfaithfulness in official life the whole country is becoming debauched upon this subject, and perjury is looked upon as a small offense. No wonder that men perjure themselves upon the witness stand when another form of perjury no less criminal, is so prevalent in official life. Municipal government in this country is a mere farce. Mayors and subordinate officials have their eyes upon the next election more than upon the violations of law. The vicious classes must be conciliated, party interests must be given a first consideration, and hence the ends of good government are ignored and the people suffer the woes of misrule. All over our country, and especially in our large cities, the vicious classes organize for wicked purposes and plan their iniquitous schemes confidently expecting that officers of the law will be blind to their lawlessness, and even protect them against the efforts of good men to secure the enforcement of the law. The arrangement for a prize fight, in St. Paul, on July 22nd, 1891, between Hall and Fitzsimmons, under the auspices of the Minnesota Athletic Club, is an example of the tendency to lawlessness, based upon an expectation of perjury on the part of the officials. This organized club, in the face of the law, planned for this great disgrace and demoralization in their city, engaged to protect the violators of the law, under a forfeiture of three thousand dollars, and

then complained bitterly because they were not notified by the officials that the law would be enforced. They took it for granted that the officers would perjure themselves by making no effort to enforce the law. And if the press fairly represented the facts there was no disposition on the part of the officers to interfere with an infamous crime against society which their own law denominates a misdemeanor and a felony, until the citizens of St. Paul indignantly and resolutely demanded these officials to execute the law. Even then Mayor Smith not only refused to enforce the law but advised its violation, after having sworn to enforce it. Such infamy ought to be sufficient grounds for a life-sentence to the penitentiary. The sheriff reluctantly obeyed the governor's proclamation, under a threat of instant removal from office in case of refusal, and even the governor seemed to have no disposition to interfere with this notorious lawlessness and vile insult to the commonwealth until driven by the Christian and moral sentiment of an indignant public to take official notice of this premeditated and pre-concerted villainy. The brazen impudence of the president of the club is shown in the following announcement made by him in the afternoon of July 22nd, 1891.

“Up to noon today it was hoped that under a fair and reasonable execution of the law, which at most makes a prize fight a misdemeanor and a felony, as is the case in many other states, the contest could proceed and the club have the opportunity of to some extent covering its loss.

The club asked that the sheriff be content with arresting the principals and putting them under bonds for future appearance, and that the law be allowed to take its course after the event.

“The sheriff was disposed to adopt this policy, but under a threat from the governor of instant removal from office if he did not prevent the fight by any means in the power of the state, the sheriff was obliged to notify the club that he should be on hand prepared to stop the fight.

“It was also stated the governor had ordered the 1st regiment under arms for the purpose of assisting the sheriff. In such a state of things the club could not think of proceeding with the contest, and as the result of a conference in which the mayor, chief of police, sheriff, county attorney and the club officials took part, at noon today the club threw up the sponge and declared the fight off. The club loses its deposit, of \$3,000 as a forfeit to protect the contestants and in addition about \$9,000 expended in constructing the big pavilion and for other necessary expenses.

“Under the circumstances, the action of the state authorities was cruel and unjust, as the fight could and should have been prevented thirty to sixty days ago, before a dollar of expense had been incurred. Mayor Smith earnestly urged that the club go on with the fight, but it was decided to drop it in order to remove all possibility of disorder and bloodshed. T. Z. Cowles, President Minnesota Athletic Club.”

This, only represents the fearful condition of municipal government in this country. St. Paul is not worse than other cities. Indeed, it is doubtful whether many of our cities could have organized a sufficient moral, law-abiding pressure to have secured the enforcement of law by officials who had shown such a disposition to perjure themselves to please and gratify the vicious class. This whole system of official perjury in the interest of vote-making is clearly in violation of the ninth commandment, and as clearly within the proper realm of pulpit discussion and condemnation. It is the imperative duty of the pulpit to expound God's law against perjury in every form, but to do so brings it into collision with the practice of politicians and their wicked schemes to control the votes of the vicious classes in the interests of political parties which have no honest concern for the ends of good government.

10. COVETOUSNESS.

The Tenth Commandment.

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

Exodus, XX. 17.

This commandment involves the question of *ownership* in all its important relations. It should be discussed by the pulpit in its moral bearings, and the State absolutely must legislate for the protection of the rights of ownership. Thus substantially the whole field covered by the ten commandments, is also covered by human legislation and is there-

fore political. He who ordained civil government among men that it might be employed for the promotion of righteousness by the maintenance of equity through the punishment of the guilty and the protection of the innocent, also ordained the pulpit, and calls and commissions His ministers to be preachers of righteousness, and thus law and the Gospel are appointed by the authority of God to occupy, in the main, the same field, and the accomplishment of the same worthy end—the reign of righteousness. The ten commandments are the only true foundation for all equitable civil legislation on questions involving moral issues, and at the same time they furnish the authorized and infallible guide to the pulpit in the discussion of the Divine law for the government of human conduct. The “new commandment” given by the Savior in the words: “Love one another,” saps the very foundation of every system of oppression and wrong, for no man will rob, oppress, or in any way wilfully wrong his neighbor whom he sincerely loves. No minister can faithfully apply and enforce this last commandment on which hangs the law and the prophets, without condemning all oppression and all practices that result in injury to any of our race, without regard to the political associations of such wrongs. If the pulpit must let politics alone it must let the law of God alone or criminally limit its force, mutilate its teachings and circumscribe its applications.

II. THE DECALOGUE.

We have seen that every commandment has a political relation. Every one has been properly considered as presenting a subject calling for civil legislation in the interest of the public good. The decalogue and civil legislation cover the same field, not improperly, but of necessity and in harmony with the will and ordination of God. The author of the Divine law, for the proclamation of which the pulpit is divinely appointed, has also ordained civil legislation to harmonize with it and cover the same ground.

The law of God, enunciated on Mount Sinai and confirmed by the incarnate Son of God fifteen hundred years later is as broad as human obligation, and if its faithful exposition and application to our fallen race does not lead the pulpit into the field of politics, it is because in that field human obligation to Divine law is abrogated and there is therefore no duty to be enjoined nor sin to be rebuked.

With boldness we point to the consumer of intoxicating liquors as a sinner against himself, his neighbor, his family and his God, and shall we, fearing the lash of a debased public sentiment, led by unscrupulous and designing politicians, shrink from pointing out the legalized liquor traffic as the feeder of disease, the inflamer of passion, the producer of death, the instigator of murder, and the great fountain-head of a thousand other untold evils and miseries in our world. Nor is the minister's duty modified by the fact that this murderous traffic is enshrined in the municipal

laws of many of our villages and cities, involving thereby at least a majority of the "village trustees" or "city council" and the voters who have by their suffrage placed these license boards in office, in all the murders, crimes and sufferings brought upon our land by the saloon system. What must be the fearful account of that minister, who, for popularity or salary, winks at these great evils and gives no word of reproof from the sacred desk? It will not do for him to say that the people vote upon these questions and that being therefore political, he is excused from their discussion. God has given his ministers no such rule of action.

In conformity with public sentiment, we denounce the perpetrator of petty larceny as a vile sinner and him who meeting his neighbor upon the highway extorts from him his money, the earnings of an honest toil, as worthy of an incarceration in the lonely cell or years of confinement and hard labor in the penitentiary. Would it have been just or manly for the pulpit to have been deterred by the dictation of corrupt politicians from pointing to American slavery as a great legalized system of wrong, injustice, theft and robbery?

We denounce theft, robbery, licentiousness and murder. Can the pulpit be guilty and lift no warning voice against that system, licensed and protected by politicians which embodies all these crimes in their most repulsive forms?

The duty of the pulpit to guard, protect, and advance the

interests of Christian civilization demands that it should everywhere be the avowed enemy of oppression, and every form of extortion and theft. With boldness and great plainness it should condemn every demoralizing influence in the community whether private or political. Whatever tends to demoralize, or hinders the true civilization of man is an obstruction to Christianity and it is clearly the duty of the pulpit to labor faithfully for the removal of all such obstructions. That the liquor traffic and other great wrongs enshrined in the laws of our country and protected by political parties, as a compensation for their political influence, are a hindrance to civilization and an obstruction to Christianity, needs no demonstration.

The pulpit must abandon the moral law and the Gospel or manfully accept the issue whenever presented by the immoral schemes of ambitious politicians and unchristian politics adopted by political parties.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BIBLE ATTITUDE.

I. TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

We shall assume in this case the correctness of what is known as the double wine theory. As cider is the expressed juice of the apple, so wine is the expressed juice of the grape, whether fermented or unfermented. The word wine is so used now by the best standard authorities, and evidently was so understood by the translators who gave us our authorized version of the Bible. It is impossible to harmonize God's word with itself upon any other hypothesis than that which recognizes the word wine as generic, embracing the unfermented as well as the fermented juice of the grape. Scholars who have assumed that wine, in the Bible always means an intoxicating drink, have almost if not quite, uniformly been wine drinkers and their theory was evidently adopted as a defense of their unchristian habit.

Howard Crosby may be mentioned as perhaps the leading example of this class of men. The great preponderance of authority is on the other side, and common sense teaches

us that God could not in one place strongly and unconditionally condemn, and in another place, by implication at least, approve the use of identically the same thing. It is important to bear in mind that whatever condemnation we find in the Bible, of the use of strong drink and its results, refers to the use of fermented wine and not to distilled liquors, as it is certain that the art of distillation was unknown in Palestine, in Bible times.

With the understanding that all reference, in the Bible, to wine, where its use is uncondemned is to the unfermented or pure juice of the grape in its natural condition, and that all condemnation of the use of wine, or strong drink, refers to the fermented juice of the grape, we have an easy solution of all difficulties and a key to the harmony of God's word.

The Bible tells us that "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." In the twenty-third chapter of Proverbs we have a vigorous and truthful description of the results of strong drink, and a positive prohibition of its use.

"Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babblings? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes?

"They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine.

"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color to the cup, when it stirreth itself aright.

“At the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder.”

We are forbidden to even look at the wine when it has fermented, and the Bible by the force of these and other passages is clearly a total abstinence book.

To enjoin total abstinence from the pulpit is to condemn the president of the United States and politicians generally. The so-called social habit is everywhere an element of political power, and a factor in the intrigues of politicians for carrying elections. Also to advocate the Bible doctrine of total abstinence it interferes with the prosperity of a business legalized, sanctioned and protected by the sanctities of law. The politicians legalize a business and bid for the votes of its patrons and the faithful pulpit uses all its influence to destroy that business by cutting off its supplies through the preaching of total abstinence as a Bible doctrine. The pulpit must ignore the schemes of corrupt politicians and preach the truth.

2. FURNISHING LIQUOR.

God says “Woe unto him who giveth his neighbor drink.”

Habakkuk II, 15

The treating habit, so fraught with mischief in its results upon society and so uniformly associated with old party methods in political campaigns, is unqualifiedly condemned. The parent who gives to his boy, cider, wine, or beer, and thus lays the foundation for a life of dissipation ending in a

drunkard's grave, the respectable and high-toned citizen of wealth and social standing who entertains his friends with wine on the sideboard, and the Chief Magistrate of the nation, who, in the White House, supplies his honorable and honored guests with liquors of various brands, are all classed with the debauched inebriate, who in the social life of the saloon, invites his comrade in degradation to join him at the bar. Each one gives his neighbor drink and thus incurs the curse of God.

But this passage has a broader meaning. It not only covers the act of donating or furnishing without compensation, but as clearly that of furnishing for compensation. The scope of the text is better expressed by the rendering, "Woe unto him that furnisheth his neighbor drink." No man has any right to do that which will injure his neighbor even though that neighbor be willing to pay him for so doing. The willingness of the victim furnishes no just ground for the slaughter. The sale of intoxicants is therefore equally condemned. But he who authorizes the sale is equally involved with him who sells, hence every man who uses his influence by vote or otherwise for the sale of strong drink, is involved in the guilt of furnishing the same to his neighbor. Thus, logically, we are again driven into the field of politics and the pulpit **must** be derelict in duty or bold in its condemnation of the voter, who either directly or indirectly, votes for the legalization and protection of the saloon.

3. LICENSING THE SALE OF LIQUORS.

That the question of licensing an evil is a political question no person of intelligence will deny. That it has come to be a party political question is equally true. No considerable number of any party are in favor of what is called free whisky. The great mass of all parties believe in special legislation, either for the suppression of the liquor traffic, or, as they claim, for the regulation by restrictions, with penalties more or less severe. All variations of opinions, however, may be included in two distinct and opposite theories—prohibition and license. These are the two methods of dealing with the liquor traffic now permeating the politics of this country. Whether license be high or low, whether penalties for the violation of restrictive features be severe or light, does not vary the principle involved in licensing an evil. The two old parties are essentially license parties, with local exceptions growing out of a prevalent prohibition sentiment in those particular localities. We have already shown that as national parties they are both on record against prohibition, and are therefore in sympathy with license. In every instance where either of the old parties has favored prohibition, it has been the result of local *policy*, and not of moral conviction, and that *policy* has usually been merely to impede the growth of the Prohibition party. No man who is even respectably intelligent concerning the history of the two parties for the past twenty years can possibly believe that there is any prohibi-

tion sentiment in either of them beyond mere questions of *party policy* in certain localities, in order to get the vote of temperance men. The Prohibition party is on one side of this question, and the two old parties are on the other side. Indeed, the old parties are but two wings of the same great whisky party, while the large majority of the temperance men are still blindly voting with one or the other of those wings under the foolish imagination that they are heroically fighting out some grand issue that has really been dead and buried for years. The license question is not only in politics, but is there to stay, until the right shall triumph and the license system shall be forever blotted out.

But it is also a moral question on which the Bible gives forth no uncertain sound, and upon which the pulpit cannot be silent without base treachery to its high calling. We give a few passages, with some comments as may seem fitting to impress upon the mind God's law on this subject :

Habakkuk II : 6. "Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his.

9. "Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house that he may set his nest on high.

15. "*Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood and establisheth a city by iniquity.*

15. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth the bottle to him and maketh him drunken also."

These woes of Habakkuk are very full of meaning. The

first woe condemns the increase of a man's possessions by the appropriation of "that which is not his." The licensed saloon-keeper, is authorized by law to take money from his victims without giving an equivalent. He enriches himself with "*that which is not his*," but justly belongs to his victims. The license system legalizes his robbery and protects him in his villainy. For this legal sanction and protection he gives the State a portion of this ill-gotten gain, and the government thus becomes *particeps criminis*, and is equally guilty with the saloon-keepers whom it licenses, fosters and protects.

The second woe is pronounced against the man who "covets an evil covetousness to his house that he may set his nest on high." The new version is more impressive. It reads: "*Woe unto him that getteth an evil gain to his house.*" The income of the saloon-keeper is an "evil gain to his house," but not more so than is the revenue of the State from the liquor traffic, whether that revenue be received from government tax, government permits or license fees. This woe covers the whole license and tax system of the State as well as the business of the saloon-keeper. The pulpit must faithfully pronounce the woes of God, even though politicians, political parties and voters come squarely under the condemnation of receiving revenue for the permission of vice. The *revenue* derived from the licensed liquor traffic is the one great argument for the licensing of this great evil. All over this country we are *building towns*

with blood and establishing cities by iniquity. For \$100, \$500 or \$1,000, we are selling to bad men the privilege of running murder shops, to destroy the citizens of our own country, and this money goes into our town and city treasuries. BUILDING TOWNS WITH BLOOD AND ESTABLISHING CITIES BY INIQUITY. What now shall the pulpit do? To faithfully announce God's woe upon this revenue from vice is to meddle seriously with municipal politics and greatly disturb the equanimity of politicians and time-serving church members who think more of their political parties than they do of the purity and righteousness of the church. To withhold the truth is to dishonor God and forfeit His approval. To the faithful minister there is no alternative. He must "cry aloud and spare not," even though he may be proscribed among men for his faithfulness to God.

The fourth woe is directly upon the liquor seller, and, by implication, upon the State, upon municipalities, upon political parties and upon voters, that have become parties to this great iniquity. The word given in this passage is not used as a synonym for donate, but evidently means to *furnish*, so that he who sells strong drink to his neighbor is equally guilty with him who treats his fellow. Those who in any way support and maintain the traffic in liquors are guilty of *furnishing* strong drinks to their neighbors. The State, with its complicity with the traffic for the revenue it pays, is a guilty party. The political party that winks at the evil and gives it protection, for *votes*, is a

guilty party. The municipality that licenses the sale and protects the liquor dealer in his murderous business is a party to the crime. The voter who deliberately votes a license ticket, or helps by his vote to keep in power a political party managed in the interests of the liquor traffic and pledged to the license system, is personally involved in the guilt of giving his neighbor drink. The woe of God is pronounced by the prophet upon all these parties, and the pulpit must have sufficient grip on God's truth to enforce these Divine teachings, or prove recreant to its high trust.

Turning to Jeremiah xxii : 13, we read "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness and his chambers by wrong." The moral sentiment of this country universally concedes the unrighteousness of the drink traffic, and hence this woe of God, as announced by Jeremiah, falls upon liquor sellers and all others who seek to share in the revenue of this great wrong.

God says in Exodus xxiii : 7, "I will not justify the wicked." He does not allow us to do what he will not do. "He that justifieth the wicked is an abomination to the Lord." — Prov. xxii : 15.

Every license law, by giving sanction to iniquity, is a legal justification of the wicked, and is therefore in direct conflict with the law of God, and must be condemned by every pulpit that is loyal to its mission.

In the prophecy of Isaiah v : 22, 23, we find a remarkable passage which ought to be proclaimed from every pulpit

in the land : " Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink, WHICH JUSTIFY THE WICKED FOR REWARD and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him." But from the revenue derived from the liquor traffic the license question could not live an hour. The whole license system is sustained because of the " reward " received for justifying the wicked.

4. GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY WITH THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The inquiry of the Psalmist, found in the twentieth verse of the ninety-fourth Psalm, is pertinent and significant : " Shall the throne of iniquity, which frameth mischief by a law, have fellowship with thee ? " If the Psalmist had been familiar with the laws of this country licensing the liquor traffic, he could not have framed an inquiry more applicable and forcible. Every license statute is full of iniquity. " It is mischief framed by a law."

Our government is the largest partner in the distillery business, it refuses to investigate the influence of the liquor traffic upon the varied interests of the country, it seeks by State influence and expense to extend the beer trade in Spanish America, it refuses to ratify a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade and the prohibition of the liquor traffic in Congo and it fastens upon its own citizens by law an iniquitous traffic which in its results involves, waste of property, destruction of industry, and the production of disease, indolence, pauperism, vice, crime and

death. The law is the product of political sentiment crystallized into party organization. To denounce the law is to enter the field of politics and incur the displeasure of the whisky politicians. The pulpit must discuss questions that are political, or abandon the law of God.

CHAPTER VII.

CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

Civilization is properly defined to be refined elevation of mankind which becomes more perfect as it embraces in its elevating influences the whole man, physical, mental and moral. The church, the school and the state are the three great civilizing agencies among men. Religion touches directly the moral nature, and through that highest nature of man, possesses a rightful monitorship over the entire culture and conduct of the human race. The Christian Religion approves and enforces what is right and condemns whatever is wrong. That which is right always harmonizes with the best civilization and on the other hand, whatever retards civilization and adds to the degradation and misery of mankind, cannot be right, and must receive the condemnation of the pulpit. God has so constituted man that obedience to the laws of his physical manhood is essential to his well being. He has also given to man an intelligent nature, the proper development of which is absolutely necessary in order to gain his highest attainments and happi-

ness. Man, for his own good, has been made subject to law, both Divine and civil, the latter authorized by and based upon the former, and there can be among men no civilization without the recognition of, and obedience to, law. Anarchy is opposed to civilization, and true civilization and human happiness are impaired just in proportion as civilization ignores the moral element. It is the mission of the pulpit to urge the recognition of the moral element in every field of human thought, feeling and action. As the great teacher of morality it must make itself felt at the ballot box, in legislative assemblies and in executive mansions. Law, as well as the school and the pulpit is an educator. As such, it is either the friend or foe of civilization, in proportion as the enactments of law-making bodies are just or unjust. The pulpit is pledged to the production and maintenance of the highest possible civilization of man, and must condemn and oppose the prostitution of any educational force, and demand that law, as well as the church and the school shall give its influence on the side of virtue and against all the vices that afflict humanity. But the field of law is the field of politics, and for the pulpit to use its legitimate influence against the wrong and for the right in the wide province of law in its moral phases, is to enter the arena of politics and frequently that of party politics.

To prove that any practice impedes the progress of civilization is to demonstrate the unrighteousness of that practice and its incompatibility with the Christian religion, and

therefore the right and duty of the pulpit to declare against such practice and against its protection by law.

Every influence that tends to widen the space between man and brute is an aid to civilization, while every influence that fosters and excites the animal passions and brings into requisition brute force, degrades man toward the level of the brute and tends toward barbarism. As men are removed by culture from the influence and control of the passions that rule the savage and from the rude life of the barbarian they partake of the elements of a true civilization that is in conformity with the doctrines of Christ. Whatever institution or practice subjects its votaries or victims to the control or influence of such passions and principles as rule the savage or assimilate them to the rude life of the unpolished, untaught and ignorant barbarian, must be numbered among those institutions and practices which are the legacy of sin to mankind and which the gospel of righteousness and peace and the light of a true Christian civilization must ultimately extinguish. They belong to the works of the devil for the destruction of which the Son of God was made manifest and against which the pulpit is commissioned to pronounce the Divine anathemas even though they may be enshrined in the laws of the land as party gods.

It was from this standpoint that the pulpit was under such an imperative obligation to denounce slavery as a sin against God and man, though in so doing, it entered the

field of a most exciting and bitter political question. At this point we prefer to quote from Thomas Jefferson, once the idol of the Democratic party, who in his "Notes on Virginia," said: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the *most boisterous passion*, the most unremitting despotism on one part and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find motive either in his philanthropy or self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves and gives a loose reign to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with *odious peculiarities*. *The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.* And with what execration should the statesman be held, who, permitting one-half of the citizens thus to trample upon the rights of the other, transfers those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of one part and the *amor patriæ* of the other."

If the statesman, who, by legislating for slavery would

permit it to destroy the morals of a nation deserved "execration" what infamy should rest upon the minister of the gospel who would let such flagrant criminality pass without reproof? The judgement of Thomas Jefferson was fully sustained by Col. Mason, of Virginia, who in the convention that framed the constitution of the United States said of slavery: "It produces the *most pernicious effect on our manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant.* It brings the judgement of heaven on a country. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

The brutalizing influences of slavery upon Southern society is not a question for debate. It had a debasing influence upon all classes of society. It demoralized the slave-holders, it degraded the slaves, and it destroyed the manhood of the non-slave-holding whites. As a representative instance of the debasing tendencies of slavery, and its uncivilizing influence in the development of the brutal passions, we may refer to the general approval and unqualified laudation throughout the South, of the barbarous outrage committed in our national Senate chamber upon the person of Senator Sumner, by Brooks, of South Carolina, Mr. Sumner's only offense being an unanswerable argument against slavery. The hissing of the civilized world was heard at the bare mention of the deed, but slave-holders and their uncivilized friends, received the brutal bully of the bludgeon at public assemblies, banqueted him as an honored

guest and voted him a cane as another bludgeon for similar crimes. Senators and representatives of the South, and members of slave state legislatures addressed him with orations upon the occasion of this inhuman deed at which all civilization blushed. A leading journal in the South said: "In the main the press of the South applaud the conduct of Mr. Brooks without condition or limitation. Our approbation at least is entire and unreserved. We consider the act good in conception, better in execution, and best of all in consequences." *Brute force* is the logic of slavery, and no slaveholding people can ever be highly civilized. The civilization of the slave-pen can have nothing in common with Christian civilization. The influence of slavery upon the poor whites was still more terrible. Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, in advocating the establishment of manufactories to give employment to this class said: "I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed and ignorant population, without Sabbath schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, and without any just appreciation of character will be injured by giving them employment." No one will question the uncivilizing influence of slavery upon those in bondage. Against this great destroyer of civilization the pulpit, except where enslaved and silenced by political influence raised its warning voice. For so doing it was abused by politicians for preaching politics. Faithful ministers were starved out and driven from their pulpits to make places for mere time-

servers who for popularity among politicians became traitors to God and the truth and closed their mouths against our nation's great crime. But the world today pays its tribute of honor to the anti-slavery pulpit of this country for its faithfulness in reproving sin and bearing unmoved the vile epithets that came from corrupt and profane politicians.

History repeats itself. We are confronted today by the infamous saloon system whose uncivilizing influences are even worse than were those of slavery. Christian civilization never had so great and dangerous an enemy in this country as is the saloon today. It seeks to destroy the Christian Sabbath, it poisons the fountains of domestic, social, and business life. It is the one great enemy of all that is good, and the one great impediment to the progress of civilization. Our nation is suffering far greater evils today from the liquor traffic than it ever suffered from slavery. The inroads of this monster iniquity upon physical, mental and moral manhood are alarming in the highest degree. The saloon-keeper is the inveterate and unceasing foe to our Christian civilization, to whose protection and advancement the Christian pulpit is pledged. Armed with a legal license and protected by the sanctities of the law he invades the home,—the very foundation of Christian civilization, with vice, drunkenness and debauchery. He is the recruiting officer for poor-houses, jails, penitentiaries and the gallows ; he drives love and peace from the family and introduces strife and sorrow ; he converts the kind husband

into a tyrant, the affectionate father into a despot, and the dutiful son into an ingrate ; he fills the happy homes with weeping, heartbroken widows, and children crying for bread ; he leaves from these ravished and ruined homes, to almost every community, an expensive heritage of poverty-stricken widowhood and wretched orphanage ; he comes to these homes with hellish malice full, an enemy to education and refinement and a foe to religion ; he fosters ignorance and encourages immorality ; he destroys virtue and excites licentiousness ; he is the prolific source of crime, insanity and idiocy and everywhere robs the home of those heavenly graces and beauties that liken society on earth to the paradise of God ; he is the devil's most successful agent among men, the most dangerous enemy to the Christian home and the most serious obstruction in our country to a pure and elevating civilization. But this saloon-keeper with his destructive influence upon our civilization is in politics. The nation has gone into partnership with him and receives a part of his profits as a special revenue. To preach against his business is to meddle with political issues and offend whisky politicians and weak church-members whose religion is less prominent than their politics and whose party prejudices are stronger than their moral convictions.

And now what is the duty of the pulpit ? Shall it retire from the field, or array itself against this demoralizing institution ? Shall it talk about the sins committed a thousand years ago or a thousand miles away, or shall it

boldly say : “ *Thou art the man.* ” The pulpit is earnestly entreated to let this great liquor traffic alone, for the only reason that its prohibition involves a political question. Must the pulpit allow the people to relapse into barbarism and the nation to perish from the wrath of God, at the bidding of a few unprincipled politicians? The pulpit is appointed to labor for the progress of christianity ; but christianity can prosper only as it carries the people from the dark reign of barbarism into the higher light of its own grand civilization. To live at peace with uncivilizing and demoralizing agencies is therefore to compromise the interests of Christianity and betray its own God-given trust. The father who would raise a family of children would not suffer a den of rattlesnakes in his door yard. No more should the minister expect to witness the progress of Christianity and development of Christian civilization with all its blessings to mankind, while he quietly suffers scheming politicians to keep a live and prosperous den of moral serpents in the form of two hundred thousand saloon-keepers, whose venom poisons continually the fountains of social and political life. May God pity the cowardly minister who has not the courage to discharge his duty in this great conflict ; and may the Holy Spirit give a better understanding to those benighted church-members who have been croaking about political preaching.

CHAPTER VIII.

OUR DEBT TO THE PULPIT.

Ingratitude is a common sin of humanity and no class of men are more guilty than professional politicians. The pulpit of this country has ever been in the lead in the recognition of human rights and the advocacy of true personal liberty.

Ours is a Christian nation. It had a Christian birth and baptism. It was founded by those who fled from religious persecution in the old world and came to this far-off land to enjoy both civil and religious freedom. Thus was our nation born of *Christian* exiles driven from persecution for their love of civil and religious liberty from lands of oppression and serfdom. It was also baptized a Christian nation, — baptized by the blood of the revolution, shed in a war, begun and carried on to its successful completion, in the fear and in the name of God. The cause of freedom was prayed for in the prayer meeting, at the family altar, in the public congregation and in his pastoral visits by the puritan minister ; and throughout the colonies from

the united hearts of Christians arose one mighty volume of supplications to the throne of God for the success of the revolutionary patriots in their struggle for liberty. And the ministers of that day not only prayed, but they preached for freedom, — much to the dissatisfaction of the tories of the revolution, — and upon the battlefield they fought for independence. On Bunker Hill amid the clash of arms and rain of bullets stood the venerable McClintock, a representative of the clergy. The Elder Adams, than whom no man was better qualified to speak, said, “ Had it not been for the aid rendered by the pulpit the people would have become discouraged and the revolutionary struggle would have proved a failure.” Did the pulpit transcend its duty in preaching politics then? Let the caviling demagogue answer. This nation was born a free nation because an unfettered clergy encouraged the people to fight for freedom and from the pulpit fanned the fires of liberty in the hearts of struggling patriots. Though cursed by tories for their interference in political matters, they fearlessly and religiously, with loyalty to God and fidelity to truth and freedom, rallied the people in defense of liberty and saved their country from oppression.

We have already referred to the fact that in 1823 the clergy of Illinois saved the State from the curse of slavery. Further on an hour of great national peril came. A conspiracy was formed to make slavery national. The Supreme court of the nation was captured and the Dred Scott decision justly awakened the fears of the friends of human free-

dom. A struggle was inevitable between slavery and freedom. Stephen A. Douglas introduced his Kansas-Nebraska bill and the political agitation became intense. It was a great moral issue and again the clergy came to the front. They preached against slavery and denounced the truckling compromise policy of the politician. They prayed for the cause of human freedom and a petition against the enactment of Mr. Douglas' bill was sent to our national congress signed by three thousand clergymen. Those men of God were ridiculed and cursed but their petition was a moral bombshell whose explosion quickened the Christian thought of the land and resulted in a profound and widespread conviction which crystalized into organized opposition to the administration of our government by any party managed in the interest of slavery. But for the guidance and intensity given to the Christian sentiment of this country by the influence of an active and fearless pulpit, there had never been any Republican party to boast the honor of having erased the dark blot of slavery from our country's banner of freedom. If the anti-slavery triumphs of the Republican party are an honorable record upon the pages of our nation's history, surely the pulpit should share largely that honor as without its influence the moral sentiment essential to give birth to an anti-slavery party of any force, could not have existed, and if such a party had come into existence under such conditions it must have proved a miserable failure. The Republican party not only owed its

very existence to the influence of pulpit teaching, but throughout its entire anti-slavery campaign, the pulpit was its main reliance for the creation of a public sentiment that should sustain its policy in the administration of the government.

Mr. James G. Blaine in his work entitled, "Twenty Years of Congress" ably and with candor and fairness discusses the causes that led to the organization and success of the Republican party. In that discussion, Vol. I Page 118, he says, "The anti-slavery development of the North was not more intense than the pro-slavery development of the South. Every other issue was merged in the one absorbing demand by Southern slaveholders for what they sincerely believed to be their rights in the territories. It was viewed on either side as an ordinary political contest. It was felt to be a question, not of expediency but of morality, not of policy but of honor, *It did not merely enlist men. Women took large part in the agitation. It did not end mith absorbing the party. The clergy were as profoundly concerned.* The power of the church on both sides of the dividing line was used with great effect in shaping public opinion and "directing political action."

Mr. Blaine offers no criticism upon the pulpit for its activity in the great anti-slavery campaign. Indeed, republican politicians were everywhere gratified for the aid of a loyal pulpit, and were profuse in their eulogies of ministers who stood in the forefront of the battle and from

their pulpit and the platform and with their pens assailed the institution of slavery and denounced political subserviency to the slave power. When the crisis came and strong men became nervous, as the balance trembled with indecision in weighing the chances for and against the preservation of the Union, the pulpit, by its appeals to God and to the people was the chief factor in reviving the courage and in subduing the influence and checking the power of the infamous "fire in the rear."

The protestant clergy, as a body, —save that of the Protestant Episcopal Church — firmly stood by the government. They preached against the rebellion and denounced rebel sympathizers in the North as enemies to the country; they encouraged volunteering and took their places in the army as chaplains, officers and privates in the ranks; they prayed for those in authority, for the brave soldiers in the field, for the success of the Union armies, the overthrow of the rebellion and the return of peace together with the reign of universal freedom. Obeying the Divine injunction, they cried and spared not. For this they were abused as a class of political meddlers who had no right to pray and preach upon these matters. Intelligent men, however, who were not influenced by their sympathies with slavery and rebellion, honored the pulpit for its devotion to truth, its manliness and its patriotism; and now after quarter of a century has passed since the close of that dreadful contest all respectable persons concede that the loyal pulpit in

war times was justifiable in its defense of liberty and the national life. The pulpit of America could never have stood vindicated at the throne of God had it not raised its warning voice and sounded forth the muttering thunders of God's wrath against that great system of vice which culminated in rebellion.

We have great reason to be thankful that the loyal states had a loyal pulpit. That pulpit with faith in God and the right, led on and maintained even in the darkest hours of our struggle the patriotic sentiment of the church going people and thereby saved the country.

Among the northern friends of the rebellion there were few church members, or even church goers. Those who thought more of their party politics than of religion, and were therefore ready to follow their party into the dark labyrinths of disloyalty and treason, soon found themselves without any sympathy with the pure religion of Jesus, and their connection with the church was readily severed. The pulpit and those who attended regularly the services of God's house were almost unanimously the firm friends of the government and advocates of all the effective measures used to suppress the rebellion. Had there been the same proportion of rebel sympathizers in the churches and congregations that were found among those beyond the influence of the pulpit, the rebellion would have proved a success, our union would have been dissolved, our noble flag of freedom dishonored, the prospects of Christianity

blasted, and the star of hope for the oppressed in all lands had set in darkness.

A prominent general said to a Western Chaplain : " Had the Methodist Church been against us, as it has been for us our cause would have been lost." A member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, high in authority at Washington at the close of the war, said to Bishop Simpson ; " You have great reason to be proud of your church for the part it has taken in the war." The Bishop replied that he was proud of his church, both clergy and laity, and then said to the civil dignitary, " You have occupied a standpoint from which you are able to form a correct judgement as to the influence of different classes. What do you think would have been the result if my church had played quits as yours did ?" The cabinet officer promptly replied, " We would have gone under." If the Methodist Church was of such importance, what must have been the influence and power of all the evangelical churches ? All the evangelical churches, save the one already excepted, did nobly for their country and we are proud to make the record for our common Christianity.

To the honor of Abraham Lincoln, he has left on record the fact that he did not undervalue the worth of the Christian churches nor desire to detract from them any reward of merit. As the nation's chief he expressed the gratitude of the nation for the Christianity of the land. In reply to an address sent by the general Conference of the M. E. Church in 1864, he said, " Gentlemen, in response to your address

allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statement, endorse the sentiments it expresses and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promises it gives. Nobly sustained as the government has been *by all the churches* I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals and more prayers to heaven than any other. *God bless the Methodist Church.* GOD BLESS ALL THE CHURCHES ; AND BLESSED BE GOD WHO IN THIS OUR GREAT TRIAL GIVETH US THE CHURCHES."

There is no fact concerning the great American conflict that the historian can record with greater certainty or more confidence of its truth than that the Christian churches saved the nation and that the activity of the churches was largely due to the energy and power of an unfettered and loyal pulpit whose occupants could not be driven from the performance of duty by the cry of preaching politics.

In every moral crisis through which our country has passed the pulpit has maintained the right and this nation owes an unmeasurable debt of gratitude to the Christian pulpit for whatever of good has been preserved. The pulpit has justly earned its right to be heard on all great moral subjects, whatever may be their political relations.

CHAPTER IX.

PERSONAL LIBERTY VERSUS LAW.

Civil government is ordained of God. Law is of Divine authority. Order, is a necessity, for the existence of social and religious life, and the pulpit is divinely appointed and authorized to proclaim God's law of order and to insist upon man's obedience to the same. The true doctrine of personal liberty is in harmony with law which prohibits everything that is wrong and enforces that prohibition by appropriate penalties.

But we are confronted with a class of political theorists who would abrogate all law for the government of the individual, depending wholly upon moral suasion for the protection of society against crime. Others who shrink from carrying their theory to its logical conclusion, are constantly disparaging laws for the suppression of social evils and thus giving their influence in favor of lawlessness. A false notion of personal liberty is made the basis of this tirade against the enactment and enforcement

of good and wholesome laws, prohibiting crime and providing for the punishment of the criminal. It is assumed that the doctrine of personal liberty is to be accepted, in this country, at least, without question. Then it is assumed that every prohibition that interferes with man's privilege to do what he pleases is a violation of personal liberty and therefore to be condemned. The sophistry consists in the double use of the phrase "personal liberty." No Christian can accept the doctrine of "personal liberty" when used in the sense of unrestrained freedom. The true doctrine of "personal liberty" involves the right of every individual to act in harmony with his own pleasure, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others nor in any way injure his fellow-men. God, as the creator of man, is the author of the laws of social life, and instead of conferring upon man the right, under the law of "personal liberty", to do as he pleases without reference to the happiness of others, he has positively enjoined that every man shall seek the happiness and welfare of his fellow-man. All law is a violation of "personal liberty" when used in the sense of unrestrained freedom. A law against murder is a restraint upon my freedom to take the life of my neighbor; a law against theft is a restraint upon my liberty to appropriate my neighbor's property to my own use and a law against the sale of intoxicating beverages is a restraint upon my freedom to take advantage of my neighbor's weakness and

by furnishing him alchoholic poison to injure both himself and family. God has enjoined the prohibition through civil statutes of individual conduct injurious to society or in violation of the rights of others and the pulpit must give its influence to the enforcement of God's teachings or prove recreant to its trust. The loose, erroneous, and dangerous construction that has been given to the doctrine of personal liberty, advocated largely by those who have come to this country with the notion that liberty means freedom from legal restraint, is clearly antagonistic to the Bible. Christianity teaches a contrary doctrine, and the faithful pulpit must, in loyalty to God and the interest of religion and the good of society, oppose any such mischievous teaching. But this involves political teaching. The question is one which embraces, at the very threshold of its investigation, the right of society over the individual. The Bible clearly teaches the subordination of the individual in his personal desires to the good of society, while political doctrine in antagonism with this Christian principle is boldly advocated by many in our country, especially among the vicious classes, and is widely sanctioned among unscrupulous and designing politicians who are courting the favor and seeking the votes of these same vicious classes. This discussion already in our country involves the true policy of civil government and also the principles of the divine government of which the pulpit is the divinely

appointed and authoritative representative among men. The pulpit must forsake its mission or boldly claim and exercise its right to enter the political arena in the discussion of law and order as against the varied forms of anarchy and lawlessness.

CHAPTER X.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PULPIT

It is sometimes charged that the pulpit stirs up strife and is a source of opposition and therefore destructive to the peace of communities. We have heard it charged with a great deal of acrimony that the pulpit caused the civil war through which this country passed at such an immense sacrifice of treasure and blood. The whisky murders that have been recently perpetrated in our country have been attributed to the agitation of the temperance question by the Christian pulpit. Jefferson Davis asked only to be let alone, and the liquor dealers of this country ask only to be let alone. Indeed criminals of all classes, from the petty thief up to the murderous saloon-keeper, ask only to be let alone.

It is true, however, that the faithful pulpit does not propose to let sin alone. Its mission is to reprove iniquity. In war times there were men who claimed to be wonderfully in love with the gospel of peace. One passage they could quote with a glibness not usual in quoting Scripture among that class of men. "Glory to God in the highest, and on

earth, peace, good will toward men," was as familiar to them as household words, but the declaration of Christ with reference to the influence of his mission among men in causing dissension and strife was entirely outside of their Scripture reading. The mission of Christ is for the promotion of universal peace, not however by withdrawing opposition to iniquity, but through the destruction of all sin. Lest any should indulge in this unscriptural theory of peace at the expense of righteousness, Jesus with seeming emphasis uttered the following words: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household." The angelic proclamation of "peace on earth" and Christ's declaration that his mission is to send a "sword," the emblem of strife, among men, are in perfect harmony. The gospel with its cleansing and saving power brings peace to the individual conscience and peace with God, but at the same time produces an unqualified disapproval of sin, an uncompromising condemnation of wrong and unyielding opposition to whatever is hurtful to man and dishonoring to God. The gospel of peace does not propose to save a man in his sins but from his sins. The whole gospel theory for the realization of peace among men is forcibly expressed by

St. James in his description of the wisdom that cometh from above as being "*first pure, then peaceable.*" The gospel plan for the recovery of this world from the reign of sin involves the abrogation of wrong, and hence the triumph of Christianity is represented as a *victory* over the world. This world is a great moral battle field. The forces of truth and error, of right and wrong, of good and evil, are marshalled for the contest. In this great struggle of moral forces for the mastery, Christianity with the pulpit as its chief representative is an aggressive force. Christ came into the world to redeem men from the curse of the law and to deliver them from the bondage of sin.

Contemplating the issues involved in his coming, the bitterness of the strife and the final triumph of the cross, Jesus said : " Now is the judgement of this world ; now shall the prince of this world be cast out. " Christ came to make war upon sin. He came to reprove the guilty, and did so in terms that drew upon himself their fury, until they clamored for his blood and in their wrath procured his crucifixion. The pulpit is by appointment an aggressive institution, set for the defense of right and the fearless condemnation of wrong. The faithful exposure of wrong will naturally cause strife, by stirring up the opposition of those who indulge in and defend evil. The pulpit in every land and age must emphasize the inquiry of the Psalmist: "Who will rise up with me against the evil doers? who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?"

Truth and error cannot live together without conflict. They are incompatible. For this reason alone was there an irrepressible conflict between liberty and slavery. Sin and holiness are utterly incompatible with each other, and when the friends of these opposite principles are brought in contact there must be a collision ; and sometimes the agents of iniquity bring on a collision in which they compel good men even to wield the sword in defense of the truth. The man whose house is broken open and whose life is threatened has a right to resist the evil doers and to slay the robbers, nor is he guilty of their blood. The wrong doers are wholly responsible for the conflict. When bad men attempt to injure a community by the establishment and maintenance of saloons, theatres, lotteries, gambling dens, bawdy houses, etc., it is the imperative duty of the pulpit to sound a warning voice and rally all good people against these iniquities, and all responsibility for any conflicts that may arise out of the efforts of good people to suppress wrong and put evil away from among them, must rest upon the evil doers.

The whole ground is covered by the comprehensive statement that in all conflicts between truth and error, the advocates of error are wholly responsible for all resulting evils.

In one sense the friends of truth are always the cause of such conflicts, for were there none to defend the truth, error would triumph without opposition. But to charge the responsibility and attendant evils of such a conflict upon the

defenders of truth because they have manfully resisted the progress of evil, is as contemptible as it is illogical.

The pulpit was responsible for the civil war, only in saving the country from more terrible judgements. In obedience to the gospel of Christ, it opposed the spread of slavery, and when wicked men resorted to the use of arms for the protection and spread of that iniquity and the destruction of the nation, the pulpit promptly chose resistance to rebellion. The pulpit had no alternative but to choose between the evils of a war for the union in defense of righteousness, and the far worse evils arising from the nationalization and spread of slavery and associate crimes, which must have resulted in the destruction of our nation, for God has said that the nation and kingdom that will not serve him shall perish and all history shows that he will vindicate his right to rule and execute his threatenings against unjust and oppressive nations. The war with all its calamities was far better with its glorious results, than the triumph and perpetuity of those principles for which rebels rose in arms. The pulpit did nothing more than its imperative duty in resisting evil, while the responsibility for all the untold sorrows of the war must ever be placed, in all just history upon the slave-holders of the South and their friends both North and South.

Our forefathers caused the revolution by their opposition to the oppressive acts of the British Parliament ; the Jews caused the wars between themselves and the idolatrous

tribes of Canaan by their obedience to God ; the long list of Christian martyrs, by their faithfulness to the Christian religion, caused their own persecutions unto death ; the apostles and their fellow-laborers in the gospel, caused all the disturbances, mobs, riots, imprisonments and deaths that grew out of their preaching the doctrines of the cross ; Jesus was the cause of his own crucifixion, and all persecutions for righteousness' sake have resulted from the faithfulness of those who have suffered at the hands of wicked men. Had there been in 1776 no lovers of justice and liberty in our country there had been no revolutionary fathers and the sufferings of the seven years' war had never been endured : had the Jews disobeyed God, the wars of Canaan would never have occurred ; had there been no true Christians to resist the evils of the world, there had been no Christian martyrs nor any Christian church in the world today ; had the apostles reversed their doctrine and conduct and obeyed men—civil rulers— rather than God, the " world " would not have been " turned upside down " and wicked people excited so that mobs were organized and riots perpetrated because of their teachings ; and had the Savior not taught his pure doctrines nor reproved the wickedness of the Jews, he had never been crucified, nor would the world ever have been redeemed, for though the crucifixion was not a necessity in order to redemption, yet Christ's faithfulness to his mission was a necessity to the work of redemption. And, so if the pulpit of the North

had never taught the doctrine of human freedom nor condemned oppression, our civil war had not been, and could the pulpit of today be hushed into silence upon our nation's great iniquity—the liquor traffic—the saloons would receive a new and perpetual lease of life, the work of debauching our population would go on until our Christian civilization and our liberties would be buried in the grave of private and public corruption. But who ever thought of charging the guilt of the revolution upon the patriots of "76," the guilt of mobs and riots upon the pure and devoted apostles, or the guilt of the Savior's crucifixion upon the innocent and spotless Lamb of God? Nor is the pulpit guilty of any wrong, impropriety or undue assumption of prerogative in freely discussing and unqualifiedly condemning all wrongs in high places as well as low, and in the political world as well as in private life.

Our nation has ever been recognized as a Christian nation, and our government is supposed to be administered in harmony with Christian principles. The pulpit is the visible representative of the Christian religion and hence the right of the pulpit to be heard, especially in this country, upon all moral questions, whatever may be the political issues pending.

CHAPTER XI.

IMPORTANT EXAMPLES.

The clergy of today have examples of the ablest and most pious divines of past ages for the discussion of political questions, involving moral issues and the enforcement of sentiments of loyalty to civil government.

The examples of Christ, of the apostles, of the early Christian ministers and of the most efficient gospel ministers of every succeeding age, fully justify modern clergymen in the exercise of unlimited freedom in the discussion of all moral questions.

Preaching upon political questions involving moral issues, is no modern innovation. It is as old as the church. Christianity has always enforced righteousness in its relations to political questions.

This politico-moral ground has always been occupied by the pulpit, and never questioned save to screen crime from its reproof. The Bible, — the minister's text book and guide, — *is full of politics*. A very large portion of it is adapted to rulers and nations and pertains to matters of the

State. The great burden of the Jewish dispensation was to teach the *sovereignty, authority and worship* of God as opposed to the idolatry *enshrined in the politics* of the nations. The pentateuch is political in that it embodies a complete code of laws for the government of the Jewish nation. The entire civil polity of that nation is found in the Bible. The burden of the prophets, aside from foreshadowing the coming Redeemer, was a series of complaints for *national sins* and threatenings of national punishments. Even the devotional Psalms are largely national and therefore political, comprehending and recognizing God's wise dealings with the nation. The authority of God over nations and the obligations of men to make their politics harmonize with his will are nowhere more fully recognized than in the Psalms of David. The old prophets of God were counselors of kings, nor did they withhold reproof when they saw wickedness in high places. Nathan said unto David, King of Israel, "Thou art the man, thou hast killed Uriah." Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego refused obedience to the civil statute of Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel disregarded the unalterable decree of Darius; and Christ, in his teachings upon the subject of divorce came in collision with the civil law, prohibiting where that law allowed a divorce. The apostles found the laws of the Roman empire in the way of the doctrines of the cross, and boldly attacked polytheism, the great civil institution of the Roman empire. *Every sermon was political*, because it asserted the supremacy of Jehovah, above the idol gods enshrined in their laws.

While the apostles preached in Ephesus the supremacy of Jehovah, political demagogues were crying "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

Let us go with Paul to the chief city of Greece, — the birth place of law-givers, and the home of philosophers. Polytheism is firmly established in the land. Idolatry is the peculiar and popular institution of the city. The worship of Juno and Jupiter, Bacchus and Apollo, Venus and Mercury with a hundred other supposed deities, prevails.

Paul sees "the city wholly given up to idolatry" and "his spirit is stirred within him." What now will he do? These are political institutions, protected by the laws of the country. Here are the civil courts and here is located the Areopagus, or supreme court of the nation from whose decision there is no appeal. But we see no faltering on the part of the great apostle to the gentiles. He was no time-serving compromiser who shuned to declare the whole truth lest some one should become offended and refuse to hear him any more. Justin Martyr says, that, "Plato on returning to Athens after his travels in Egypt where he acquired some knowledge of the unity of God, was anxious to dissemble and conceal his sentiments lest he should be compelled to appear before the Areopagites." He was afraid to interfere with institutions protected by the civil law, lest he should be compelled to appear before the supreme court of the country to answer to the charge of committing an offence against an enshrined and established institution of the land.

But now turn from Plato to Paul, an inspired apostle and well accredited minister of Jesus Christ. He not only disputes with the Jews in their synagogues concerning their errors, but he stands in the midst of the court of the Areopagites whom Plato feared, and says, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious; for as I passed by and beheld your devotions," [objects of worship,] "I found an altar with this inscription, '*To the unknown God.*' Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you, GOD, that made the world and all things therein, the LORD of heaven and earth, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands. Who giveth to all life and breath and all things, and hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." Never was an institution, ordained and protected by law more boldly attacked by any man, than was the polytheism and idolatry of Athens, by Paul, in the very midst of the highest court of the city. But Paul was a pestilent little fellow, going about preaching politics, disturbing the peace of communities, exciting the people against anti-Christian institutions and practices and turning the world upside down. He was a crank who had not learned to appreciate the sacredness of the pulpit, nor had he attained that degree of holiness that is professed in these modern times by pious demagogues whose first and highest interest is in the success of some political candidate or party.

Perhaps no modern church has been more maligned for preaching politics, especially upon the subjects of slavery

and temperance, than the Methodist Episcopal Church, but this so-called political preaching is not only old fashioned Christianity, but also old-fashioned Methodism. John Wesley, whom the Methodists love to honor as their founder, was not only intensely anti-slavery, but actively disseminated his views on that subject. In 1774 he first published his "Thoughts on Slavery," which was then enshrined in English law, in which he not only argued logically against the system, but said as hard things of it as any other man has ever uttered. His tract written against slavery, had a political design. Wesley's object in describing the enormities of slavery, was to aid Wilberforce and others in the abrogation of the slave trade, then carried on under the English flag, and ultimately to affect slavery itself. Wesley said, "whatever assistance I can give to those generous men who join to oppose the execrable trade, I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the 'Thoughts on Slavery,' and dispersed them to every part of England. But there will be vehement opposition made by slave merchants and slave holders." He might have added, "also by their political friends."

Wesley was no coward, nor did he think it out of place for him to wield an influence on political questions, when great moral truths, personal rights and human happiness were involved. The charge of meddling with politics did not deter him from preaching and publishing the truth. He designed his tract to have a political influence on a moral

question ; and for that purpose he “ printed a large edition and dispersed them to every part of England.” Five editions of this tract were published and scattered among the people, and Wesley, to the end of life, was known to be an active worker in the anti-slavery cause. He was the intimate friend and confidential adviser of Wilberforce, and his last letter, written six days before his death, was to Wilberforce, upon this subject, in which he said, “ go on in the name of God and in the power of His might, *till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun*, shall vanish away.” His last publication was the fifth edition of his publication on slavery, and Mr. Shrewsbury says : “ These two conjoined — Mr. Wesley’s last pamphlet and his last letter — occasioned the abolition cause to be as it were stamped on the Methodist mind.” He also says : “ The preachers entered fully into his views.” The same author says that “ Watson became an avowed emancipationist, and at the request of the committee ” (which was purely political in the object of its organization) “ took an active part in the promotion of the cause.” Also “ the preachers perfectly and unanimously concurred in his views ; some of the men of renown imitated his example, and *their proceedings met with the hearty approval of the whole Methodist people ; not a dissentient voice was heard.*” Nor were the early Methodist preachers afraid to speak out in conference resolutions on questions that involved political relations.

In 1830, a great political campaign accompanied with much bitterness and party strife, was progressing in England. The question that then loomed up above all others in the politics of that country, was that of abolishing slavery in the colonies of the empire. A bitter and exciting political strife agitated the nation, but the churches, true to the spirit of Christianity and indifferent to the fact that the question was political, arrayed themselves upon the side of human liberty ; and no religious body joined the anti-slavery army with greater unanimity than the Methodists. In the midst of this political excitement, the Wesleyan Conference met at Leeds and during the session adopted a number of resolutions which croakers about religious bodies meddling with political questions would do well to examine before charging Methodist preachers with departing from the example of old-fashioned Methodism. We give the fifth and sixth resolutions :

“5. That the Conference fully concur in those strong moral views of the evil and injustice of slavery which are taken by their fellow Christians of different denominations and in the purpose which is so generally entertained of presenting petitions to Parliament from their respective congregations for its speedy and universal abolition, and earnestly recommend it to all the congregations of the Wesleyan Methodists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, to express in this manner, that is, by petition to both Houses of Parliament by each congregation to be signed at its own chapel and

presented as early as possible after the assembling of the next Parliament, their sympathy with an injured portion of their race and their abhorrence of all those principles on which it is attempted to defend the subjugation of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery.

“6. That the Conference still further recommend in the strongest manner to such of the members of the Methodists Societies as enjoy the elective franchise, that in this great crisis, when the question is whether justice and humanity shall triumph over oppression and cruelty, or nearly a million of our fellow men — many of whom are also our fellow Christians — shall remain excluded from the rights of humanity and the privileges of that Constitution under which they were born ; *they will use that solemn trust to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonor which have been brought upon it by a criminal connivance at the oppressions which have so long existed in its colonies and that in the elections now on the eve of taking place they will give their influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support in Parliament the most effective measures for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies of the British Empire.*”

Concerning the above resolutions, Mr. Shrewsbury says . “Everybody in Methodism approved of them.” Thus the Wesleyan Conference with unanimity and with the hearty approval of the Methodist public, adopted resolutions which

were radically political, entered directly the field of party strife and proposed to urge "in the strongest manner" that all Methodist voters should as a religious duty vote with the anti-slavery emancipation party.

And now that the force of this example may be seen and felt, let us suit the action to our times and maintaining intact the principle involved, let us paraphrase the sixth resolution making it applicable to the great Prohibition controversy which now forces itself upon the thinking people of this country.

"6. That the Conference still further recommend in the strongest manner to such of the members of the Methodist Episcopal church as enjoy the elective franchise, that in this great crisis, when the question is whether justice and humanity shall triumph over oppression and cruelty, or whether millions of our fellows, many of whom are our fellow Christians—brothers and sisters in the faith of Christ—shall remain unprotected and suffer in their homes and communities the awful woes that come from the legalized and murderous liquor traffic; they will use that solemn trust to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonor which have been brought upon it by a criminal connivance with the infamous traffic in alcoholic beverages which destroy both the bodies and souls of men, and that in the elections soon to take place, they will give their influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support in Congress or in the State

Legislature, and in executive administration the most effective measures for the entire prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages throughout the United States."

What would some of our croakers and conservative ecclesiastical functionaries think of such a radical resolution? But the action of the Wesleyan Conference to which we have referred was promptly sustained by the Methodist people and from there went up to Parliament one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three petitions signed by two hundred and twenty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty-petitioners. The historian says: "Not one pro-slavery petition went from a Methodist society or congregation; such a thing would not have been tolerated for a moment; in fact no one had the hardihood to propose it. Every Methodist hand that could write signed for freedom."

Richard Watson, the great theologian of early Methodism is said to have been the real author of the bill that was enacted in the English Parliament for the emancipation of all slaves within the dominions of the English crown. The great political revolution was effected by the Christianity of England. Concerning the abolition of the slave trade an English author says: "It was the religious influence—the Christianity of the nation that after many a hard fought battle, won." Mr. Burton says: "Let it not be supposed that we give the praise of the abolition of slavery to Mr. Wilberforce or Mr. McCauley or to any man. I know the obligations we owe them; but the voice of the

Christian people of England was the instrument of victory." That voice was felt in their petitions and votes, and the clergy were the prime leaders in giving directions to both, and the Methodist clergy were perhaps more active than any others. The early Methodist preachers led by Wesley and Watson were not afraid to pray and write and preach about political questions which involved the rights and happiness of the people and the welfare of the nation, and the early Methodists had religion enough to sustain their ministers in the discharge of this religious and imperative duty.

Wesley was as explicit in his condemnation of the liquor seller as the slave holder. We need not follow further the history of Methodism. Its moral manhood in attacking crime regardless of its religious protection has ever been the glory of the Methodist ministry.

But it must be conceded, however great the humiliation, that the examples along the line of Methodist history have not always been exhibitions of Christian heroism, such as merit our praise, nor even to challenge our respect. There are dark spots upon the history of all denominations, and Methodism comes in for its share of deep humiliation because of its disgraceful conduct in yielding to the dictation of politicians and attempting to suppress the agitation of the slavery question. Drs. Curry and Floy, two of the honored men of Methodism whose names will ever be held in precious memory by the appreciative readers of Metho-

dist history, were arraigned before their conference upon the charge of agitating the slavery question and thereby disturbing the peace of the church, — were found guilty and censured and admonished to abstain from the agitation of that subject.

For a time the proscription of ministers who dared to preach and talk against slavery was common. High ecclesiastics made it their business to frown upon the anti-slavery movement, and in every way possible to discourage the same, especially claiming that pastors should keep out of this controversy, as to take any part therein or even to attend anti-slavery meetings would hedge up their way. When Dr. W. H. Hunter, now an aged and honored member of the Central Illinois Conference, stood before the altar a candidate for admission into an Eastern conference, the bishop presiding asked the question, "Will you desist from the anti-slavery agitation?" Several young men who would not answer that question affirmatively were refused admission. W. H. Hunter, in his young and noble manhood, declined to make the pledge, but being a promising young man, and having warm personal friends in the conference, received votes enough to admit him.

The general conference of the M. E. Church, in session at Cincinnati in 1863, censured two of its members, (Rice and Sunderland,) for lecturing against slavery. The action of that General Conference so perfectly represents the spirit of some ecclesiastics of today on another question

that we give it entire in this case. Two members from New England attended an anti-slavery meeting in Cincinnati, and took part in that meeting by making speeches. The general conference, by a vote of one hundred and twenty against fourteen adopted the following :

“Whereas, great excitement has prevailed in this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference, in lecturing upon and in favor of that agitating subject ; and whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicions and distrust of the community, and to misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the points at issue ; and whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided and unequivocal expression of the ideas of the General Conference in the premises :

THEREFORE,

“1. *Resolved*, by the delegates of the annual conferences in the General Conference assembled, that they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favor of modern abolitionism.

“2. *Resolved*, that they are opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master

and slave as it exists in the slave-holding states in this Union. ”

These resolutions were a disgrace to the General Conference, a disgrace to Methodism and a disgrace to Christianity. But the measure of humiliation for the Methodists as they stand before the world upon the page of history was not yet full. A pastoral address was prepared and adopted, and under the signatures of the bishops—Roberts, Soule, Hedding and Andrew—was sent out to the churches from which we make the following extracts for the comfort of those ecclesiastics who are using their official position and influence to discourage the agitation of that movement which proposes through legal methods the abolition of the saloon

“It is not unknown to you, dear brethren and friends, that in common with other denominations of our land, as well as our citizens generally, we have been much agitated in some portions of our work with the very excitable subject of what is called abolitionism. This subject has been brought before us at our present session, fully, and we humbly trust, impartially discussed and by an almost unanimous vote highly disapproved of, and while we would tenderly sympathize with those of our brethren, who have as we believe, been led astray by this agitating topic, we feel it our imperative duty to express our decided disapprobation of the measures they have pursued to accomplish their object. It cannot be unknown to you that the question of

slavery in these United States, by the constitutional compact which binds us together as a Nation is left to be regulated by the several State legislatures themselves, and thereby is put beyond the control of the general government as well as that of all ecclesiastical bodies ; it being manifest that in the slave-holding States themselves the entire responsibility of its existence or non-existence rests with those State legislatures. And such is the aspect of affairs in reference to this question that whatever else might tend to ameliorate the condition of the slave, it is evident to us, from what we have witnessed of abolition movements, that these are the least likely to do him good. On the contrary we have it in evidence that the inflammatory speeches and writing and movements have tended in many instances injuriously to affect his temporal and spiritual condition by hedging up the way of the missionary who is sent to preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, and by making a more rigid supervision necessary on the part of his overseer, thereby abridging his civil and religious privileges.

“These facts, which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls as they who must give an account, to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications and especially those of that inflammatory character

which denounce in unmeasured terms those of their brethren, who take the liberty to dissent from them. Those of you who have honest scruples as to the lawfulness of slavery, considered as an abstract principle of moral right and wrong, if you must speak your sentiments, would do much better to express yourselves in terms of respect and affection which evince a sincere sympathy for those of your brethren who are necessarily, and in some instances reluctantly, associated with slavery in the states where it exists, than to indulge in harsh censures and denunciations and in those fruitless efforts which, instead of lightening the burden of the slave, only tend to make his condition the more irksome and distressing.

“From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the whole ground, we have come to the solemn conviction that the only safe scriptural and prudent way for us both as ministers and people to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject which is now convulsing the country, and consequently, the Church, from end to end by calling forth inflammatory speeches, papers and pamphlets. While we cheerfully accord to such, all the sincerity they ask for their beliefs and motives, we cannot but disapprove of their measures, as alike destructive to the peace of the Church and to the happiness of the slave himself. But while we thus express our disapprobation of these measures

we would with equally strong and decided language record our abhorrence of all unlawful and unscriptural means to check and counteract them. All mobs and violent movements of self-created tribunals to inflict summary punishment upon those who may differ from them in opinion, are condemned alike by the laws of our land and by every principle of Christianity."

This document sounds like the production of a joint committee of the old Whig and Democratic politicians, who foresaw in the agitation of the slavery question the danger of a new political organization.

Whether the Methodist Church in 1836 was controlled by parties which were managed in the interest of slavery it is not necessary now to discuss, but in the light of subsequent history the lengthy quotation made shows the utter folly of a cowardly policy when God is in a great moral reformation. Only eight years after this crouching subserviency to the slave power, the Methodist Episcopal Church was rent in twain upon the slavery question. The conservatism of bishops was powerless. God had given the command. The *agitation* went forward, and slavery ceased to be, notwithstanding it was a "State question, with which neither the Church nor the general Government had any right to interfere."

We might add other examples of which Methodists of today are not proud and also examples from other denominations, honorable and dishonorable, but those given are

sufficient. Men may try to drive the pulpit from the discussion of moral questions because of their political connections, and time-serving ministers may basely prove treacherous to their master, by yielding for support or applause, to political demagogues, but no one honors the cowardly pulpit or time-serving church of past ages. The example that we heartily approve and whose authors we delight to honor are all along the line of true pulpit heroism that ignores the influence of wealthy sinners, is unaffected by the demands of, so-called, high social life, heeds not the threats of designing politicians, nor falters in the face of opposition from those who are wedded to cherished iniquities. We honor the pulpit that asserts and maintains the right to discuss all politico-moral questions because of their moral relations.

But seriously, on what ground is this right of the pulpit assailed? This whole crusade that is going on against "political preaching,"—all this pretended zeal for the purity of religion and the reputation of the clergy,—is the most transparent and shameless hypocrisy, originating with men who care as little for the purity of the pulpit and the reputation of the clergy as the Sultan does for the success of Christianity, or the Pope for the triumph of Protestantism. The abusers of the clergy and the villifiers of the pulpit have, as a class, no interest in the success of Christianity. With them party is above religion, and political success is more important than salvation. The partisans of

today who are so bitter toward faithful ministers for *attacking the saloon side of politics*, are not a whit better than the pro-slavery sympathizers with secession, who, twenty-five years ago, so bitterly maligned the loyal pulpit for its condemnation of slavery and secession, and its defense of the Union. It would have been equally sincere for the devil to have expressed his tearful sympathy over the fate of a fallen world, and given utterance to his deep regrets and heartfelt sorrow, that the Savior should be so unwise as to hedge up his own way by his plainness of speech in attacking the sins of men, thereby making enemies and causing his own persecution and crucifixion while by adopting a *policy line*, he might have attained the summit of earthly glory and consequently exerted great influence over men.

This *devil's logic* has not yet been driven from the world nor even from the pulpit. There is a class of time-serving, worthless clergymen—some of them very popular—who are mere professionals in the pulpit, without moral convictions that they are called of God to preach an un mutilated gospel, who unite with these political tricksters in denouncing what they call “political preaching.” But these same clergymen betray their insincerity, aye, their glaring hypocrisy, by their frequent allusions to, and denunciations of, percuſions, inquisitions, St. Bartholomew massacres, governmental oppressions and various other wrongs having political relations, all of which however have their applications on the other side of the ocean or in bygone days.

Political evils of every kind are admissible to their pulpits provided they are trans-Atlantic or have been lying a few centuries, harmless and lifeless in their graves, and have no friends among the living. But living sins of our own country, sins that are poisoning the fountains of society, sapping the foundations of Christianity and laying the ground work for a national destruction from the wrath of God, are in their judgement, too secular, political and vulgar for discussion and condemnation on the holy Sabbath and in the sacred sanctuary. At least, some of these men indulge in bitter and ill-tempered sectarian harangues upon controverted doctrines of minor importance, and in unfriendly and unchristian efforts to cast ridicule upon the doctrines and practices of other religious denominations, while the crying evils that are abroad in the land, threatening to destroy our government and blot out the fair prospect of Christianity in America, are too closely connected with political organizations to be reproved by these self-sanctified examples of pulpit piety.

The real objection of this whole class of men, whether politicians, time-serving clergymen or uninformed church members, is not against preaching on subjects that have a political connection.

This is all right if we preach on their side. Then we secure their praises at every street corner, in every loafing office, in every *gambling hell*, in every *low theatre* and in every *drinking saloon*. The objection is not against dis-

cussing great moral questions when they are also political but against discussing them in such way and at such a time as to imperil the success of some political party managed in the interest of some great iniquity.

The pulpit in the discharge of its legitimate work stands pledged to the interest of temperance and prohibition and against drunkenness and the liquor traffic, and while occupying this position assigned it by its great author, two great political parties, managed in the interest of the saloon and vieing for the whisky vote come within the range of its artillery, and instead of retreating from before the fire of God's word proceeding from the sacred desk, their leaders impudently call upon the pulpit to spike its batteries and not imperil their success by a tempest of grape and loaded shells, sweeping like a torrent their fallen ranks and bursting in wild confusion among their already wavering and halting troops. It is a coward's cry, raised to screen sin from exposure. Those who make it are both ignorant and indifferent concerning the rights of the pulpit, but as they see the clergy approaching with Bible in hand, they dread the stinging effect of the living, burning, heaven-born truths, that emanate from the throne of God, are revealed in his word, and are enforced from the pulpit.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE PULPIT.

We do not claim that all political questions are appropriate for pulpit discussion but only such as are clearly moral in their issues and their bearing upon human life. There may be political questions of mere expediency and financial policy with no moral issue. Such questions the pulpit has no right to discuss, not because they are political, but because they are not moral. Whether a question is or is not political has no bearing in determining the right and the duty of the pulpit to discuss that question. If any question involves a moral issue, the pulpit has a right to discuss it whether it is or is not political; and any question which involves no moral issue is clearly outside the realm of appropriate pulpit discussion whether such question is or is not political.

Persons who talk about "preaching politics" as though it were a crime or even an impropriety, only exhibit their inexcusable ignorance of the subject. *To preach on political questions may be the imperative duty of the minister, while*

he may violate his sacred trust and lower the dignity of the pulpit by preaching on questions which are not political. The question which determines the realm of divinely authorized and enjoined pulpit discussion, is not whether themes are political, but whether they are moral and come within the range of Bible teaching. The pulpit is not a lecture platform for the discussion of scientific topics, philosophical problems and financial policies, even though non-political, highly important and entirely appropriate elsewhere.

Could the politics of a nation be confined wholly to questions without moral issues, the pulpit would be compelled to let politics alone or violate the order of its sacred calling. But when the politics of a nation invade the *moral field*, the pulpit must *continue in that field*, contest the ground with the enemies of a pure Christianity and if necessary fight its battles there. Purely political questions it has no right to discuss nor has it any more right to ignore moral questions because they are also political.

Every politico-religious question should be freely and thoroughly discussed in all its moral bearings, without any regard whatever to its political relations. The whole field of ethics is the appropriate field for pulpit discussion, application and enforcement; and no power on earth or in hell, has any right to drive the pulpit from the discussion of a single question involving a moral issue; and the minister who yields the right to discuss the moral aspects of any

question, for the reason that it has also become political is a traitor to the obligations of his profession and unworthy of a place in the sacred and holy office of the ministry. If we thus yield the ground, wicked legislators might drive the clergy from the discussion of every moral question and the pulpit out of the world, simply by legislating upon all subjects involving a moral issue.

While claiming the right as a citizen to identify himself with such political movements as his own intelligence and conscience may suggest, let every minister of the gospel remember that he does this as a citizen, and in the right of citizenship, and not as a minister, and that *the pulpit should be devoted exclusively to the discussion of Christian doctrines and morals, without any reference to, or mention of the position of political parties. The divinely ordained limitations of the pulpit are to be sought and found in moral relations and not in political connections.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MINISTER OUT OF THE PULPIT.

The conduct of a minister out of the pulpit should never be incongruous with his high calling as an ambassador of Christ and a teacher of Christian morals.

He, who in the pulpit teaches honesty should himself be honest when out of the pulpit. He who prays in the pulpit for prohibition, should vote for prohibition at the ballot-box. The occupant of the pulpit should be careful to conform his life to the teachings of the Gospel of which he is the divinely authorized expounder.

It does not follow, however, that the limitations of legitimate public discussion circumscribe the discussions and influence of the minister out of the pulpit. The minister is none the less a citizen for being a minister. He pays taxes as do other citizens. He is amenable to law as are others. He is not relieved, because of his ministerial office, from the duty of bearing arms in defense of his

country, and he enjoys the elective franchise without any limitations save such as apply to all other men.

This recognition of the clergyman's right to vote, involves his right to speak and write and use his influence on all political questions. In the pulpit, he must limit his discussion of political questions to such as involve moral issues, but out of the pulpit he, as a citizen with full rights, is entitled to discuss any question of public interest. His ministerial office deprives him of no rights as a citizen, and there is no just foundation for that sentiment which would abridge the liberty of the minister in the discussion, on the platform, in the press, or in private conversation, of all questions of public policy. Questions of tariff, banking, internal improvements, monopolies, the relations of labor and capital, foreign immigration, etc., are of interest to every citizen, and the minister being a citizen may not justly be debarred from their discussion, neither by legal enactment nor public sentiment. It may be claimed that such are the prejudice and bitterness growing out of party attachment, that when a minister pronounces his views on any political question, he thereby renders himself unpopular with those who differ from him, hedges up his own way and hinders his success as a Gospel minister. This putting of the case abandons the question of right and attempts to exclude the minister from the exercise of his rights as a citizen wholly on the ground of policy, and that policy is based on the assumption that he will be more useful by for-

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feiting his manhood at the dictation of those whom he hopes to influence for good. This assumption is not only unreasonable and false in philosophy, but squarely antagonizes the examples of Christ and all the ablest and most successful Christian ministers in every age of the Christian era. God never intended that his ministers should sacrifice their manhood nor their rights as citizens in order to avoid antagonizing men holding different views, nor is it true that time-serving ministers who think more of pleasing the people, especially rich and influential members, of getting their salaries, and having a pleasant time without any friction, than of using their influence for their country's good, are the most successful in the promotion of God's truth and the salvation of souls.

Jesus said to his disciples, "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you." God sends his ministers into this evil, sin-cursed world to produce friction, and the minister who proposes to so conduct his ministry and his outside life as to antagonize nobody, on the theory that by so doing he can accomplish more good, has no just conception of his work as a minister nor of the duties of the Christian citizen. He is so ignorant of the philosophy of God's plan of saving the world, as to make it highly proper that he should at once withdraw from the ministerial office in order that he may not feel restrained from the discharge of his duties as a citizen.

This whole opposition to a minister's exercising the rights of citizenship with the same freedom granted to all other

classes of citizens, has its origin with demagogues who fear the influence of this class of honest and intelligent citizens upon their corrupt designs and partisan schemes. This cry does not come from men interested in the success of ministers in their special work of preaching the Gospel, but from political demagogues, many of whom, who are most bitter in their denunciations of clergymen for interesting themselves in civil affairs, would be glad to see Christianity blotted out of existence, or at least so crippled as to lose its influence and power. A father who maintained good discipline in his family, early one morning, while still dressed in his white morning-gown, approached his little boy to administer punishment for some infraction of parental law. The little boy hurriedly climbed into the pigsty, and placing himself in the middle of the filthy swinepen, affectionately addressed the approaching sire, saying, "Father, don't come in here, you'll get your gown dirty." Every intelligent clergyman perfectly understands the motive whence comes the cry of politicians against ministerial influence in political circles. While the clergy of this land actively participated in the councils of the Republican party and used their influence in shaping its policy and guarding against the nomination of impure men as candidates for office, the party was comparatively pure, and because of its well-sustained moral convictions drew from its enemies the highly honorable nick-name of "God and morality" party. But when the great object for which the

party was organized was accomplished, and politicians as mere partisans assumed control of the organization, and the clergy were no longer welcomed in its councils nor their influence felt in shaping its policy, it suddenly lost its moral convictions, party success and the emoluments of office became the controlling motive and ruling passion, and the party whose honorable record had woven a wreath of glory around the names of its founders and early leaders, became a shameless compromiser with iniquity, and gave its influence to the building up of the murderous liquor traffic, and to the protection of the saloon in its ravages upon the home.

There is no other class of men who so fully comprehend the importance of righteousness in government, and certainly no other class of men, so free from political demagogueism as the clergy. This combination of intelligence and honesty makes it very desirable that the influence of Christian ministers should be felt in the adoption of National and State policy. The minister is a citizen and no other class of men have any right to object to his participation in State affairs the same as other citizens.

But should the minister be an office holder? Certainly not, any more than he should be a farmer, mechanic, doctor or lawyer. So far as it concerns other members of a community, the minister has a perfect right to enter any other profession, or follow any secular pursuit. It is not a question between him and a community, but between him and God

who has called him to the work of the ministry. A man whom God has called to the ministry may be out of the line of duty in turning aside to any secular pursuit, but the community has no responsibility in the matter and no right to complain if the minister leave the pulpit for the plow, the bench, or any lucrative business. Nor has the community any more right to proscribe the clergy from the privilege of holding office. Being a minister certainly does not disqualify a man from discharging efficiently and honestly the duties of any civil office and the voter has no more right to inquire whether a candidate for office is or is not a minister than he has to inquire whether such a candidate is or is not a farmer, with a view of having the answer influence his vote. It needs, however, to be said with emphasis that a minister has no more right to leave the pulpit for a civil office than he has to desert the ministry for a farm, a store, or real estate agency. If a minister can fill an office, run a farm, transact the business of an agency, write a book or edit a paper without interfering with his work as a minister, he has a perfect right so to do. That question, however, must be settled by his own conscience. An article written by R. A., of Gulf View, Miss., and published in the *Christian Advocate*, of Nashville, Tenn., the organ of the M. E. Church, South, so aptly and ably puts some features of this controversy that we copy it entire. It is especially important as indicating the awakening among our brethren in the South, on this subject and the disposition of the Southern

pulpit to declare its freedom from the dictation of unprincipled and scheming politicians.

PREACHERS IN POLITICS.

There is a squeamish, unhealthy sentimentalism abroad on this subject that needs a lesson of counsel. Temperance is politics because it requires legislation, and therefore "scourge 'em back" when a minister presumes to attempt to "influence legislation."

Now who said, and by what authority is it said, that a minister of the gospel may not speak and write publicly on all subjects of legislation or elections the same as other men? I do not say it has not been said, nor deny that it might be said with more or less propriety; but it is inquired, Who said it? Who has the right to say, to lay down rules of ministerial conduct on this or other subjects? Who makes the rules for ministers to go by?

Surely this question is easily answered. Who gave politicians authority to make rules for the conduct of ministers? Are ministers less interested in general legislation than other men? Are they not interested as much as farmers, doctors, lawyers, mechanics, or merchants, in road laws, laws regulating commerce, education, railroads, navigation, courts of justice, or the repression of nuisances? Who disfranchized ministers of the Gospel? Certain politicians who, it would seem need a little wholesome information on some subjects, have risen up lately in Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi, etc., and read the law: "Let preachers stick

to their pulpits and prayer books, and not intermeddle with our affairs, and '“ scourge 'em back ”' if they should presume to do so. ”

And might I not just as reasonably and legally say to the lawyer : Stick to your client, your Blackstone and Chitty, and not come out here and meddle with our elections. ” Or to the doctors : “ Stick to your pills and scalpel, and not meddle with matters that don't concern you. ” Where is the difference ? How and when did ministers lose their citizenship ? or to what extent and by whom has it been abridged ?

And while it may be easily held that in all these respects the minister of the Gospel occupies the common ground of a citizen, yet it is also true that ministers, as an invariable rule, on their own account, on their own motion subjectively, as a matter of personal and social prudence among themselves, do, as a general rule, stand aside from such public discussion as is likely to stir up strife and tend to block up their way to success in the more important matter of inculcating the Christian religion.

They—not outsiders—made this law, whatever it may be and they hold themselves capable of executing it. It is their business, not that of the laymen. It might not be unreasonable to suppose that ministers are capable of regulating their own peculiar affairs.

But here, forsooth, we have the unblushing immodesty of loud-mouthed politicians making pulpit rules ! Gentle-

men, we did not ask your advice. We are men ourselves. We do not dictate to the lawyer nor to the engineer about things pertaining to their callings. When we think we need your superior judgement we are likely to ask for it ; and it might not be unreasonable to suggest that men who scarcely ever saw a pulpit or recognized a Sabbath day—men of rough words and rougher deeds—could hardly be supposed to be the very best qualified to make pulpit rules ?

Indeed it is strange that gentlemen otherwise pretty well fitted to handle conventional rules of social life should so far forget themselves as to assume to dictate to ministers how they must behave themselves on election occasions.

So far has this matter proceeded, almost unrebuked, that a stripling editor or sophomoric politician feels perfectly free to approach gray-headed ministers and administer instruction in the civilities of their high calling ; for how do preachers know anything that politicians don't tell them ?

So silent have ministers been regarding this class of meddling interference in other men's matters that the doctrine has become almost popular with second-class politicians that ministers are out of place in attempting to influence any class of legislation, even to prohibit saloon commerce, and a distinguished politician of Texas gravely recommends that when a preacher undertakes to assist in regulating the whisky legislation he be "scourged back" into his pulpit !

Verily, gentlemen, has not this political censorship over

the pulpit proceeded about far enough? I respectfully suggest that preachers assume control and direction of pulpit and ministerial properties, at least for a time, and see how it will work.

R. A.

GULF VIEW, MISS.

CHAPTER XIV.

AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

Having examined the issues involved in this subject with some degree of thoroughness and we believe with fairness, we now close this discussion with an appeal to the clergy of this country to assert their ministerial manhood. No other calling in this life requires so much independence of what others think or say or so much indifference to opposition. We are not called and commissioned of God to please the people nor seek popularity, but to preach the truth. There is no greater heresy than that which misleads the minister to court popularity by withholding unpalatable truth, expecting thereby to please the people and win their approbation, thus putting himself in a position to do them good. God's plan is the loving but plain presentation of the truth. God said to Isaiah, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins." The nation whom God commissioned Isaiah to reprove and correct, claimed to be righteous. They doubtless professed to be the true

friends of justice and were very sensitive about reproof for their iniquity. They doubtless thought Isaiah had better attend to his own business and not meddle with their affairs. But God sent Isaiah to reprove them, with special instructions that he should not spare them but show them their transgressions. Is it not true, dear brethren in the ministry, that this great Christian nation is involved in the greatest crime of the age? Is it not true that multitudes of Christians are so blinded by the intrigues of party leaders and the influence of unprincipled politicians that they imagine themselves innocent, while by their votes and their party relations they are sustaining the licensing and consequently the perpetuation of the great crime of selling poisonous beverages? Does not God require us to show these people their transgressions and the politicians their sins? God has said that if the watchman fail to warn the wicked then shall the wicked die in their sins, but their blood shall be required at the watchman's hands; while if the watchman shall faithfully perform his duty, and the wicked shall refuse to hear, then shall the wicked die in their sins but the watchman shall have delivered his own soul. God's unfaithful watchmen are described by Isaiah as follows

“His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber; yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot

understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter." While we are urging upon our people the duty of self-examination, would it not be well for us, carefully to inquire how far in our pulpit ministrations we are influenced by a desire to please men? Do we withhold any portion of the truth, and especially that which is applicable on account of the prevalent sins of the present age, for fear of offending men? Do we allow ourselves to be deterred from preaching God's truth on great living issues because of a public sentiment having its origin among scheming politicians and designed to drive the pulpit from the discussion of certain moral questions for fear of its moral influence? These are questions that demand careful investigation and that should be answered with an unswerving integrity.

It is cheerfully conceded and stoutly affirmed that the cross—Christ and him crucified—should be the great central idea of all pulpit discussion. But this is only a great central truth around which all moral truths cluster. The death of Christ on the cross to free man from the bondage of sin, sets forth in all the force and stirring appeals of Calvary's sufferings the divine condemnation of sin, and by the authority of the cross all human wrongs are to be condemned and reproved. Christ received on Calvary the blow, which satisfied the demands of justice by "condemning sin in the flesh," and we need only turn our eyes to the flowing blood of the world's Redeemer to behold in

that bleeding victim the eternal condemnation of all sin. The cross is the world's great standing memorial of injustice : our great standing advocate of the right and condemnation of the wrong. The minister who fully comprehends the doctrines that emanate from the cross cannot fail in presenting the cross of Christ, to condemn in the most positive terms every vice and injustice found among men. Paul was determined to "know" (preach) "nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified," and yet he preached against polytheism, idolatry and polygamy, and "reasoned of righteousness, temperance and judgement to come."

We judge that Paul understood the proper limits of the pulpit in preaching "Christ and Him crucified" and he, contrary to the law of the empire, asserted the supremacy of Jehovah, he rebuked idolatry, an established and law-protected institution of the land : and while holding up the cross, he held up before the people the duties of righteousness and justice, the Christian law of temperance and the terrors of the judgement to come. He preached only "Christ and Him crucified" and confined himself to the proper limits of the pulpit, but the whole field of moral truth lay within his province. Shall not the American pulpit follow the example of Paul.

The pulpit should be held sacred to the gospel of Christ and nothing foreign to that gospel, however interesting and important, should ever be admitted there. But the Gospel

of Christ rebukes all sin and seeks to remove all difficulties out of the way of man's salvation. The object of Christianity is the renovation of a fallen race and all that stands in the way of that glorious work is inimical to the gospel and must be attacked by a faithful, aggressive Christianity. Paul tells us that even though he suffer unto bonds, "the Word of God is not bound." Wicked men may try to spike the pulpit and bind the truth, but it will rise and shine like the polished diamond.

We would not make politico-religious subjects hobbies in the pulpit, nor could we adopt any iron rule as to the frequency of their discussion ; but we do insist that they are proper and often very important themes for the pulpit, and that the minister who neglects to discuss them, because of their political connections is false to his trust, and he who yields the right to do so, is a dishonor to his profession and a traitor to his Master.

And now, dear brethren, who bear the responsibilities of the Christian ministry, what is your duty in the great struggle now upon us ?

The saloon with all its horrors of disease, pauperism, ignorance brutality and death, seeks to invade our homes under the sanctities and protection of the law. Great political parties are managed in the interest of the saloon, and the politicians demand silence on the part of the pulpit lest by the discussion of this great question public sentiment shall be created that may weaken party attachments and fealty. Church

members, who boast of their temperance sentiments, (as do also distillers, brewers and saloon-keepers), exhibit a wonderful sensitiveness at the mere mention of the saloon in the pulpit and the condemnation of the license system and open advocacy of legal prohibition of the liquor traffic are a grave offence to these men, who, exalting themselves as God, have arrogated to themselves the censorship of the pulpit, and assumed the prerogative of dictating what God's ministers shall or shall not teach in the sacred desk. In the spirit of loyalty to political parties managed in the interest of the saloon and of disloyalty to God, to the church and to righteous government, they seek to embarrass the work and destroy the influence of ministers whom they cannot control in the interest of their partisan schemes. In violation of their vows to God and their covenant with the church, they withhold from the church both their moral and financial support because the minister, believing that he should obey God rather than please men, declines to become their slave for partisan purposes. To be silent when God would have us speak is as truly abject slavery, as to utter unworthy sentiments at their dictation. A glance at the ministerial life of St. Paul will reveal the fact that he had far more to endure for the cross of Christ than falls to the lot of any minister in our country because of his manliness in defending the right and yet he said "None of these things move me."

If we are not able to endure this persecution for "right-

eousness' sake '' we are poor representatives of the cross of Christ. Some have already been driven from their pulpits because of their loyalty to God, and many others have been the subjects of wicked persecution, lying defamation and causeless opposition, but all this is infinitely preferable to that emaciated manhood that comes from smothered convictions and a disgraceful subjection of the pulpit to an imposed silence on great moral questions in order to avoid interference with the plans and expectations of scheming politicians and the wishes of servile church members who have no appreciation of their higher obligations to God and truth. It is a significant fact that Christian Prohibitionists have professed so much Christian charity as not to exhibit any spirit of opposition toward even those time-serving ministers who are waiting for prohibition to become popular, when of course, they expect to be on the right side, but who as yet are fighting imaginary battles over the dead and buried issues of the past. With a Christ-like spirit and charity, they are giving their hearty and cheerful support to ministers who are still giving their influence and votes to parties which these intelligent Christian Prohibitionists know are managed in the interest of the saloon, but it will be a miracle of grace and a wonderful mark of Christian forbearance if the law of retaliation does not make itself felt in some localities before long, and some ministers who seem to take great satisfaction in attempting to lessen the influ-

ence and hedge up the way of their brethren, who have manhood enough to utter their convictions, may come to judgment before they die.

This battle is upon us and our country. A great moral question must be settled in the policy of this nation. The saloon is in politics ; put there by its friends. The saloon is also in the field of pulpit discourse ; put there by the authority of Almighty God. The liquor associations of this country openly declare their determination to control the politics of this nation in the interest of their great crime against God and humanity.

The two old parties have not only failed to declare their independence of this power and their opposition to this iniquity, but on the contrary they have both adopted resolutions and placed them in their national platforms at its bidding. They have prostituted the goddess of liberty and in the spirit of giving license to the wildest passion for lawlessness, have under pretense of personal liberty resolved against the prohibition of the greatest crime on American soil and sought to remove all legal restraints against the desecration of our Christian Sabbath. If the pulpit be silent where shall we look for help ? The past has witnessed only the sharp-shooting of the pickets and the skirmishing of the advance guards ; but the forces are drawn up in battle line ; the field of battle is the question of prohibition or license, the battle is set and must be fought. On which side is the American pulpit ? Brethren of the

ministry, the responsibility is ours. God has placed it upon us. If we fail in this great peril, the nation must perish, crushed by the corruption of law-protected iniquity, but the blood of murdered millions will God require at our hands.

But the American pulpit will not fail. A larger per cent. of ministers than of any other class of men in our country have cut loose from the old whisky-controlled parties, asserted their political independence and given their allegiance to the only party which puts prohibition in its platform. Were the men of all other occupations up to the standard of the ministers, political prohibition would be an accomplished fact. Some are tardy but the columns are moving. They will soon be substantially solid and with a united pulpit, flashing and thundering along the line, the moral sentiment of this country will be awakened, God will be honored, our homes will be protected and the saloon iniquity, the vilest institution under the sun, shall be excluded from American soil ; and our starry flag shall not only be a beautiful ensign of liberty waving in peaceful triumph over a nation of freedom, but shall everywhere be an equal assurance of the protection of the home against the fiendish ravages of the murderous saloon.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

Having discussed as we believe, fairly and logically, the relations of the pulpit to political questions, its rights, duties and limitations, we now turn to a brief discussion of the relations of the Christian to the State. It is truthfully said that one extreme begets another and hence it is not strange that in the effort to get rid of a State Church, men drifted to the untenable position of divorcing Christianity from all relations to the State. The evils of a State Church are patent to all persons of even ordinary intelligence, and the freedom of the Church from the control of the State, and also the freedom of the State from the control of the organized Church, are propositions that need not now be argued. They are so generally conceded in this country, both by Christians and non-Christians, that we may assume the separate existence of Church and State as independent organizations to be the established policy of this country, sustained by the common sentiment of the people. It does not follow, however, that Christians are discharged from

their duties to the State, nor that the Church is debarred from expressing its views upon moral questions, simply because those questions have also become political through civil legislation or proposed legislation.

The divine and civil government overlap, but the divine is supreme and the civil subordinate, and hence the civil government should always harmonize with the divine government. Christianity, representing the field of divine government, and politics, representing the field of civil government overlap, but Christianity has the right of way and politics should always be in harmony with the morals of Christianity. This ought to be true as to the methods as well as to the doctrines of politics. The disposition to divorce Christian obligation from association with political duty grows out of a failure to comprehend the scope of Christianity in its proposition to control human action in every avenue of thought, resolution and action.

The government of Judea in the time of Christ was of a peculiar character. It was neither Judaic nor Roman but a mixture of the two. The chief authority or sovereignty was vested in the Roman Empire, while many of the functions of civil rule were retained by the Jewish Sanhedrim, the highest ecclesiastical and civil authority in the Jewish nation. This unusual combination and division of government was not the result of a conquest, but of compromise. A public sentiment favorable to a Roman protectorate over the country had been created by skillful

political management, and as a compensation for this subjection to Rome the country was entitled to that protection which could be given by the most powerful nation in the world. This arrangement, however, was far from being satisfactory.

The Pharisees were the leaders of a political party representing the strong Jewish sentiment of the country and holding that the subjugation of the land to Rome had been accomplished through disloyalty and treachery, and demanding the restoration of the Jewish sovereignty. Another class called Herodians, believed the existing arrangements to be the best for the country, and were therefore favorable to the reign of Herod, the appointee of the Roman Emperor. The strife between these two great political parties of the country, so widely at variance as to the right and best policy, became very bitter. They were political enemies, and as it has frequently transpired in the world's history since then, these political enemies were not personal friends. Differences were magnified, individuals were probably misrepresented, animosities arose and these political opponents became personal enemies. Both parties became exceedingly unfriendly to Jesus; the one through hatred and the other through fear. Christ claimed to be the promised Messiah but did not fill the Jewish notion of that promise. God had dealt with them largely in their national capacity and they had no conception of the spiritual nature of the Messiah's reign. They thought that his

kingdom at his coming would be of this world. They looked for an earthly potentate clothed with the splendors of political glory, who would assume all the authority of royalty, and execute the functions of civil government ; who should lead victorious armies, drive out oppressors, vindicate their national honor and restore the supremacy of the Jews. When the babe of Bethlehem, cradled in a manger and born of humble parentage, came to the years of mature life and entered upon his public work in the true spirit of his mission, not in the role of royal splendor and political leadership, but as a meek and devoted teacher of spiritual truth, enforcing the obligations of heart purity and an upright life, his claim to the Messiahship became an offense and a stumbling block to the Jew.

That one so humble in birth and unpretending in life should claim to be the promised Messiah was in their judgement a just cause for indignation, which they cherished until it grew into hatred and malice. This feeling of bitterness toward Jesus was increased among the Pharisees by another cause. They were formalists of the highest type. Exceedingly rigid in the external observance of the law, they were at the same time reckless as to its spirit. Jesus was familiar with their teachings, witnessed the strictness of their observance of forms and ceremonies, but also knew the impurity of their hearts and the wickedness of their lives. He likened them to whitened sepulchres which appear beautiful outward, but within are full

of dead men's bones. He exposed their hypocrisy and was unsparing in his condemnation of their iniquity. This aggravated the malicious feelings already engendered until they had murder in their hearts and only waited for an opportunity to execute their wicked desire.

The Herodians knew what was the Jewish notion of the promised Messiah, and though Jesus had made no pretensions to royalty, nor done anything to excite the fears of those in authority, yet his great and growing popularity among the people led, doubtless, to the thought that after all, this Jesus might prove to be the deliverer of the Jews. His inoffensive spirit and unpretending life might be a feint, while his secret motive might be to ingratiate himself into the hearts of the people, and then by a sudden stroke of policy arrogate to himself the civil authority, put himself at the head of a volunteer army, drive out the representatives of the Roman government, take possession of the country, and rule the land as "King of the Jews."

With the conception of this possibility, the Herodians were restless and greatly desired to get rid of this new and popular preacher who seemed to possess such power over the masses. These two classes of bitter political and personal enemies, the Pharisees and Herodians, so far yielded their prejudice against each other as to meet in consultation for the purpose of devising a plan by which they might gratify their stronger prejudice against the innocent Jesus.

Both parties being well drilled in political scheming, they readily evolved a well laid plot by which they proposed to "entangle him in his talk." Representatives of the two parties went to Jesus and in the spirit of the unscrupulous politician, they approached him with flattery, hoping thereby to throw him off his guard and make their plan a success. They said, "Master, we know that thou art true and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man, for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us, therefore, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?"

The scheme was a shrewd one and in their view the dilemma was unavoidable. After such expressions of confidence in the ability and honor of Christ, made with such apparent sincerity, surely he would give them a categorical answer to their very reasonable question. If he should give an affirmative answer the Pharisees would have in their judgement conclusive evidence with which to satisfy the people that Jesus could not be the promised Messiah. It would be impossible for him who was to deliver the Jews from the Roman yoke to give a decision in favor of paying tribute to the Roman government, and hence, if Jesus, should advise the payment of Roman taxes, he was to be proclaimed as an impostor, his influence over the Jewish people was to be destroyed and his power to harm either Pharisees or Herodians taken away. If, on the other hand he should give a negative answer, the Herodians were to

charge him with disloyalty, have him arrested for treason, and have him executed as an insurrectionist.

These parties did not particularly care on which horn of their well appointed dilemma Jesus might choose to hang. In either case they were sure of victory and the object of their malice and fear would at least be rendered powerless. Now if Jesus had lived in these days of worldly wisdom and blunted conscience, or had he been disposed to act the part of a dodger, he might have said, "It is not proper for a religious teacher to discuss or express an opinion upon any political question, therefore, excuse me." The world's Redeemer, however, had no thought of recognizing any such limitations to the province of a religious teacher. "Jesus perceived their wickedness and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They said unto him, Cæsar's. Then said he unto them, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things which are God's."

Jesus recognized the act of coining money as one of the highest acts of the state sovereignty. He asked for money used in payment of taxes and they showed him a denarius, a Roman coin bearing the image of Cæsar, the Emperor of Rome. Jesus entered into no investigation as to previous political changes or revolutions, but recognized the government *de facto* as being entitled to all the proper claims of

civil government upon the people. It was evidently not his intention to decide as to the right of the Roman government *de jure* to exercise civil rule in that country but rather to take advantage of this occasion to impress upon his hearers the duties which the citizen owes to the State including his obligation to accept peaceably the government *de facto* except where a justifiable cause for revolution exists.

Cæsar is merely representative and stands for civil government. The teaching of Christ in this passage, therefore, is Render unto civil government the things which belong to civil government, with a timely and important addition that we must also render unto God the things which belong to Him. Two governments are here recognized, to both of which man is amenable. Human government is a divine institution ordained of God, but is subordinate to the divine government and no conflict can possibly exist between the two, except where human government by usurpation trespasses upon the province of the divine government.

Christ, the great author, divinely appointed teacher and authoritative interpreter of the Christian Religion, in the imposition of Christian duty, covers a much wider field than is usually comprehended. Many good and honest Christian men and women, in their thought confine the scope of Christianity to the realm of the spiritual, to the proper direction and the control of the affectional nature,

the exercise of supreme love to God and the rendering of praise to the Most High.

This, however, is only one side of the Christian religion as taught by its author. It proposes to enter every avenue of human thought, feeling, motive and action, and subjugate all to the laws of God. The religion of Christ proposes not only to kindle and keep alive the fires of love and praise upon the altar of devotion, but also to control human conduct in private, domestic, social, business and political life, for the glory of God and the good of men. The man who publicly praises God and under the influence of selfishness, unrestrained by grace, privately seeks to wrong his neighbor for personal gain or gratification, has no right to claim the honor of Christian discipleship. The Christian family should be the highest and purest earthly type of heaven. The relations in domestic life, made sacred by divine appointment, should be so free from the vices of fallen human nature, and so controlled by the virtues of a Godly life as to clearly exhibit the peaceful and loving reign of Christ.

In social life, Christianity imposes its obligations of personal purity, chasteness of speech and upright example, demanding that we let our light so shine before men that they may see our good works and glorify Our Father who art in heaven. If in social life we forget our religion and in the spirit of this pleasure-seeking age, indulge in doubtful associations, frivolous and unprofitable conversations,

evil communications and questionable amusements, how can we be the light of the world and as a city set on a hill? There is a wonderful power in social life, all of which should be consecrated to God.

We now come to a field over which Christian law should reign, but from which we have reason to fear the elements of Christianity have been largely excluded. The business world is, with many honorable exceptions, a Godless world. Selfishness is prince, and greed for gain is almost unrestrained. The average business man of today taxes his genius to discover, magnify and praise the good qualities of what he has to sell, while defects are deftly concealed or if discovered minified and thus are ignorant and unsuspecting purchasers robbed of the earnings of their toil. On the other hand, the shrewd purchaser with an eye to business, but forgetting that God has an eye on him, discovers, points out and magnifies every imperfection in what he wants to buy, while excellences are adroitly covered up or slightly touched as unimportant. Iniquity in weights and measures is not infrequent, in business life. It sometimes is quite convenient to use one balance in buying and another in selling. God said to the Hebrews: "Just balances, just weights, a just ephah and a just hin shall ye have;" and we read in Proverbs that "a false balance is an abomination to the Lord but a just weight is his delight." We give no credit to the statement, sometimes made, that a business man cannot be strictly honest

and succeed ; but if true it affords no justification for trailing the Christian religion in the dust in order to attain financial success in life. Our domestic, social and business life should as sweetly harmonize with the law of Christ as our private devotions or our spiritual services at the altar. Another step brings us into the arena of political relations, and unfolds the very soul of our Savior's teachings in the text. Jesus being himself the embodiment of truth, teaching the way of God in truth and caring for no man nor regarding the person of men did not hesitate to pronounce authoritatively the divine law that should govern Christian men in their relations to the State, even though by so doing he antagonized the views of one of the great political parties of Judea. So the pulpit of every age and every land imitating the example of the great teacher should rise above all party considerations and influences and preach God's truth as taught in the Bible.

We come then to inquire, What are the duties of the Christian citizen?—or what do we owe to civil government?

I—OUR PRAYERS.

The Christian believes in prayer. His faith accepts the proposition that God answers prayer. He also believes that civil government is a divine institution ordained of God, and in its legitimate office properly administered, an aid to the triumph of the Christian religion and a promoter of

human happiness. He is therefore deeply interested in the existence of good government, and in the directing, restraining and overruling influence of Jehovah upon civil rulers and in governmental affairs. But the highest obligation comes from expression of God's will. Paul's language to Timothy on this subject is comprehensive : " I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men ; FOR KINGS and FOR ALL that are in authority. " It is a grave question whether the Christian men of this country have so learned and do so practice the law of God, as to offer honest and fervent prayers for God's blessings and the guiding influence of the Divine Spirit upon rulers whose elevation to office was not according to their choice.

About six months after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, as President of the United States, a little company of Methodist preachers were talking over the political status of the nation when one of the number, somewhat noted for the strength of his party attachment said : " The greatest fear I now have is that Mr. Cleveland is going to give this country a good administration. " The remark did not seem to be made in jest, but in all soberness. The author was a good man of much more than ordinary ability, and the incident shows the strength and danger of prejudice and the necessity of guarding against it in practical life. The good brother had evidently forgotten the instructions which God gave through

Jeremiah to the Jewish captives in Babylon when he said : "Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives and pray unto the Lord for it ; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace." Indeed, if by the majority, men be placed in authority in whom we have less confidence and representing principles which we believe to be contrary to the public good, there would seem to be the more necessity for the directing and restraining power of Divine influence in order to save the nation from the perils and disasters of a weak or wicked administration. In answer to prayer the wrath of man shall be made to praise God, and the remainder of wrath he has promised to restrain. If all over this Christian nation, supplications were made daily for all who are in authority, interceding for God's directing and restraining grace, without any reference to party affiliations and schemes, we should certainly have less wickedness in high places, far more righteousness in administration, greater national prosperity and a wonderful increase in the aggregate of human happiness.

II—RESPECT AND HONOR.

"Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." "Give honor to whom honor is due." The interests of good government demand that rulers shall be respected and honored. To misrepresent, traduce and villify any man is a crime, but it is a double crime to misrepresent, impugn the motives and defame the reputation of a ruler. It has a ten-

dency to break down public confidence and destroy respect for the government itself. One of the most alarming perils of the great American Republic, comes from the growing disrespect of the people for those in authority, and the disposition for party purposes to malign rulers and destroy their reputation. Our rulers are properly amenable to the public for their administrative acts. Questions of governmental policy not only may, but ought to be discussed in the spirit of candor and fairness. But the animosities that are shown in the attacks made upon those in authority and the effort to cover them with mud in order to bring a reproach upon the party they represent are not only unchristian but in view of their influence upon the good ends of government are decidedly unpatriotic.

III—OBEDIENCE.

“I counsel thee to keep the king’s commandment.”
“Let every soul be subject unto the higher power. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God.” “For rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil.” “Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath but also for conscience’ sake.”
“Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to do every good work.” “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of men for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king as supreme; or

unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well." These passages set forth the Bible doctrine of imposed obedience to the mandates of the civil government. Nor is the question of enjoined obedience affected by the form of government. Christ and the inspired writers of the New Testament lived under monarchical government and enjoined obedience to the civil authorities. The question is not as to the form of the civil government but its conformity to the Divine limitations. The monarch may rule in justice and equity, and secure to the citizen the highest good of a beneficent government, while the majority may be a tyrant as well as the King. Usurpation belongs not to the King alone, but frequently pertains to majorities who, in the name of government, perpetrate the grossest injustice by legalizing and protecting crime, and thus imposing wrongs and suffering upon the innocent, from which they ought to be protected. Sometimes in the name of civil authority the citizen is required to do what God has forbidden and not to do what God has commanded. This brings an issue between the Divine government in its rightful authority, and the mandates of civil rulers, who, in the name of civil government seek to occupy the province of the Divine government. Civil government as ordained of God and receiving the Divine sanction, is to be a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well. Sir William Blackstone paraphrases the putting of St. Paul by saying: "Municipal law

is properly defined to be a rule of conduct prescribed by the supreme power in the State, COMMANDING what is right and PROHIBITING what is wrong." God's will as expressed in his law is the supreme rule of right. When the civil ruler attempts to interdict the will of God he becomes a usurper, and so far as the usurpation extends, his government is outside the limits of civil government as ordained of God, and the Divine injunction of obedience is not applicable. Instigated by wicked men who from jealousy sought the ruin of Daniel, Darius signed and promulgated a decree forbidding any man to ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days save the king himself. Daniel showed no hesitancy in deciding between the Divine requirements and the human prohibition though it came from the highest authority in the State. "He went into his chamber and with his windows open toward Jerusalem, kneeled upon his knees three times a day as he did aforetime."

Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image in the plain of Dura and commanded all the officers of his realm to come together for the dedication of the image. He further commanded that at the sound of the music they should all fall down before the image and worship. God had said "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to any image." Three young Hebrews, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who were officers in his kingdom, obeyed the edict of the king just as far as they could without disobeying God. They refused to bow and worship the image. The king called them before

him and said, "Is it true that ye do not serve my gods nor worship the golden image which I have set up? They calmly but firmly replied, "O, Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. Be it known unto thee, O ! king, that we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

The apostles were commanded by the civil authorities not to teach in the name of Jesus, but "Peter and the other apostles answered and said, "We OUGHT to obey God rather than men." Let it be remembered, however, that in none of these cases did those who disobeyed unjust and wicked human enactments in order to obey God, manifest any spirit of resistance or make any attempt to overthrow the civil authority. When the evils of revolution would manifestly be less than those arising from the continuance of a wicked and despotic government, it may be the duty of Christian citizens to join with others in overthrowing the existing usurpation and organizing a new government in harmony with the Divine limitations. It must be conceded, however, that the examples contained in the Divine record are favorable to patient suffering of penalties inflicted, without resistance to officers, or attempt at revolution. But while the Christian must recognize the superior authority of the "higher law," and obey God rather than men, he must yield a conscientious obedience to all civil enactments which do not clearly contravene the Divine law, even though they

may be contrary to his own views of propriety, expediency or good policy.

IV—SUPPORT.

1ST—MORAL SUPPORT.—Many law-abiding people who would not think of violating the law, nor of approving its violation, are nevertheless very deficient in giving a substantial moral support to the enforcement of law. It is true that officers are elected or appointed, whose sworn duty it is to enforce the law against crime and thus secure the protection of society, and I have no disposition to shield these officers from the guilt of criminal neglect nor make any apology for their failure to perform their sworn duty. I do want to say, however, that they are not the only responsible parties for the lawlessness of the land which grows largely out of the laxity of administration. Many Christian men have not the moral courage to maintain a correct public sentiment on this subject. If a man attempt to conceal his knowledge of a murder he is held to be accessory to the crime after the fact, but if he should become an informer against the gambler, or illegal liquor selling, he must expect to be called a sneak and a mean man, and Christian men enter no protest against this prevalent and unjust sentiment which is designed to embarrass and hinder the suppression of crime. Many good-meaning people censure very severely the officers who do not properly enforce laws against crime, but these same persons

are never found giving any moral support to such enforcement. I have as much respect for the officer who neglects his duty and fails to detect and bring to justice perpetrators of crime because he has an eye on the next election and wants the votes of the vicious classes as I do for the business man who shrinks from giving his influence and moral support to the enforcement law, because he has an eye to money making and wants the trade of the same vicious classes, and more than I have for the time-serving minister of the Gospel who is recreant to his sacred trust, and presents an emasculated Gospel because he has an eye upon his personal popularity and generous support.

2—FINANCIAL SUPPORT.—The government protects us and in return every citizen is under a moral obligation to pay his taxes, that the government may be able to perform its part of the contract. A quite prevalent public sentiment exists in this country that tax-paying rests upon a legal but not a moral obligation. Jesus said, "Show me the tribute money," and when he saw upon it the image and superscription of Cæsar, he said, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," and Paul said "Render unto all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom." In a case of doubtful legality Jesus by miracle provided the money to pay the tax levied upon himself and Peter. That Christian obligation requires the payment of our taxes, there can be no doubt. That many church members fall into the error of trying to diminish

their taxes by many questionable methods is certainly true.

More than twenty years ago, in a thriving town in Illinois six men of wealth formed a conspiracy with the aid of a banker to defraud the revenue. The banker had in his safe, government bonds, not taxable, to the amount of \$10,000. One of these men went in and bought, and then said to the banker: "I will leave these bonds in your possession." The other five followed in succession, and each bought the bonds and left them with the banker. When the assessor visited these men to list their taxable property they all had government bonds instead of money. After the assessments were made, they all sold their bonds to the banker, and thus these men evaded taxes on \$60,000 on the credit of \$10,000 in government bonds. Four out of the seven engaged in this dishonest and fraudulent transaction were church members.

A few years ago an old gentleman in western Illinois thought he had discovered a way to evade a large amount of tax. He was a man of sterling integrity in all his dealings with his fellow-men, but in his thought the State had had no personality and therefore to evade the payment of taxes wronged no one. An investigation compelled him to pay \$4,000 more taxes than according to his first listing of his possessions. He had been a church official for forty years.

- Some years ago a county treasurer of Peoria Co., told me that he was quite familiar with the business affairs of that county

and that in his judgement the professional money loaners of the city of Peoria did not pay taxes on one dollar in ten of the amount actually owned and loaned by them. He explained to me the method by which they evade the law, but lest some one might be tempted to do wrong I will not repeat the explanation. The most prevalent iniquity, however, is found in a wilful and persistent under-valuation, to which crime the assessor is usually an accessory. The statute of Illinois provides that all property, personal and real estate, shall be assessed at its fair cash value. This is explained to mean what it would bring at a fair voluntary sale.—Revised Statutes of 1885, page 992, § 4.

I knew an instance a few years ago, in which an assessor returned his own six horses at \$30 each. A few days after his neighbor offered him \$150 each for those same horses and the offer was refused.

The Chicago Daily News, a few years ago, made an examination of the assessment lists of Chicago and published some startling facts. The assessed valuation of the personal property of Hon. C. B. Farwell in his house and barn was \$1,500 while it was said that his house furniture, carriages and horses cost more than \$200,000. Mr. John V. Farwell, the merchant prince, was credited with personal property in house and barn worth \$3,000, but his house and barn outfit had cost between \$50,000 and \$100,000. Potter Palmer had personal property, according to the assessor, to the amount of \$4,000. He lived in an elegant

stone mansion that cost nearly \$1,000,000 and his home was said to be elegantly furnished. His personal property was doubtless worth nearer \$200,000 than \$100,000. Belford Clarke & Co., returned their personal property at \$13,500, but a fire revealed the fact that they had personal property amounting to \$620,000. A. S. Gage & Co. were assessed on personal property at \$30,000. The failure of that firm revealed assets amounting to \$950,000. Of this amount \$450,000 were in goods for which debts were no offset under the law. But the strangest case of all was revealed by death. Mr. H. J. Christoph swore to his personal property as follows; "Furniture, \$100; total cash value ascertained and determined by the assessor, \$100." In less than four months after this total cash value of \$100 was sworn to by Mr. Christoph, he was called to die. The administrator appointed by the probate court made and reported to that court an inventory of his estate in which his personal property "at a fair cash value," amounted to the enormous sum of \$635,515.24 not including some claims that were not considered good. These are only samples from the records found in the court house in Chicago. When we remember that these returns were accepted by assessors who knew much about the wealth of these men and who had taken an oath to assess all property at a "fair cash value" we must hold these officers as accomplices in a conspiracy to defraud the revenue. The burdens of taxation imposed upon the poorer classes, while the wealthy through an unjust system

of exemptions were allowed to escape, laid the foundation for and led to the first French Revolution.

We need no bloody revolution to remedy this evil but the farmers and other comparatively small property owners of this country who are bearing the burdens of taxation while the wealthy are defrauding the revenue, ought to wake up on this subject and demand equality of burdens by honest assessment.

V—A CONSCIENTIOUS, INTELLIGENT AND
RELIGIOUS BALLOT.

A government administered in harmony with the popular will as expressed at the ballot-box, places the chief responsibility for good government in the hands of the voter.

The conscience of every citizen should go into his ballot, and especially must the Christian citizen who is required to do whatever he does to the glory of God, put his conscientious convictions into his ballot.

All political parties have held that the perpetuity of our civil liberties depends upon the general diffusion of intelligence among the voters. This political tenet needs amendment. It ought to read, "Intelligence and MORALITY." Intelligence alone is no safeguard to national purity. Yet it is an essential element in the maintenance of good government.

It is an alarming fact that out of 13,000,000 voters in our

country more than 2,000,000 cannot read the names on their ballots.

There is a wide field for Christian effort in bringing this large class of voters up to the standard of medium intelligence.

But the Christian citizen must cast a RELIGIOUS ballot. His every act should be permeated with religious thought and conviction. But here we are met with the inquiry if we propose to mix our politics with our religion and take politics into the church. I answer NO! There are many who do that and spoil their religion by giving their politics a dominating power. Our religion needs no mixture of politics, but we would mix our religion with our politics, and bring the church in to politics so far as to teach all its members that God condemns the man who casts an immoral ballot. We have been impressed with the conviction that the reason why some people are so sensitive about bringing the influence of Christianity to bear upon political life is because they have a consciousness deep down in their hearts that they have a kind of politics with which religion will not mix. Let politics be kept out of religion and out of the church. The lower has no right to dominate the higher. The Christian man has no right to allow his politics to affect his religious life, nor to allow political affinities to generate prejudices detrimental to his church work. As to party relations, every Christian man must conscientiously make his own selection, according to his convictions

of right and duty and all political parties in our past history, have had, and at present do have, as members, Christian men equally intelligent, conscientious and religious. Christianity requires honesty of purpose, devotion to the right and true patriotism, and that all other sentiments must be subordinate to these. Parties should and must exist where there are honest differences of opinion to represent principles and governmental policies, but mere partyism is a great national peril. Washington struck the keynote of Christian teaching and practical wisdom when, in his farewell address, he warned his countrymen against the dangers of party spirit. The true Christian-patriot must put his religious convictions into his citizenship.

CHAPTER XVI.

SYMPOSIUM.

About the time of completing the manuscript for this volume we conceived the plan of adding a supplemental chapter, giving the views of a class of men and women who are recognized as able thinkers and who are appreciated as men and women of candor, whose intelligent judgements must be accepted as worthy of respectful consideration. We sent out over two hundred copies of the following circular letter :

ABINGDON, ILL., AUG. 5th 1891.

DEAR BROTHER :

I have just placed in the hands of the printer the manuscript for a small volume entitled, "THE PULPIT AND POLITICS, OR CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE." I desire to add a supplemental chapter, consisting of a brief and concise statement of the views of prominent persons representing various denominations. I very greatly desire to have a statement from you, giving your views as to the *right* and

duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions, which are also political ; and also, how far, if at all, the pulpit should be influenced by the consideration that a moral question has come to be a *party* question, and enters into the controversies of political parties. An extended argument is not desired, but a mere statement which you can put in about two hundred words. Please to answer within ten days from date.

Yours truly

J. G. EVANS.

We regret that only thirty-six replies were received. Had more time been given doubtless more replies would have been returned, but we cannot get rid of the conviction that many of the persons addressed declined to reply lest an honest statement should condemn their own practice and give offense to their political friends. This letter was sent to persons representing all the leading churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, and all political parties. The answers came from Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, and politically from Prohibitionists and Republicans.

We publish the replies without note or comment.

No. 1.

W. H. NINDE, D. D.

Bishop of M. E. Church.

As a rule I disapprove introducing any references to partisan politics in sermons. Questions which are matters of political discussion, I would avoid if possible or treat very sparingly. But I would not shirk giving the fullest expression to my earnest convictions upon these questions if they involve vital morality. If the pulpit will retain its power, it must be practical, eminently so. It must take hold of living issues. We must preach along the lines of the peoples' thinking. There is a good and a bad side to all moral questions and the people have a right to know what their pastors think and believe. More and more questions of State have an ethical coloring. There is hardly an issue of prime importance before the American people today that does not involve the private and public conscience. Of course we cannot take these questions into the pulpit and discuss them in all their bearings but we can explain and enforce the great principles, which if embraced, will lead to right decision and action.

No. 2.

THOMAS H. HANNA, D. D.

Pastor 1st U. P. Church, Monmouth, Ill.

I have aimed to have my pulpit give forth no uncertain

sound, on all moral questions, as far as I have been able to understand them and appreciate their importance and the sound has always been more certain and distinct when any political party espoused an immorality, as the danger was more imminent that the evil would become established and sustained by law. I think the pulpit should be perfectly free from the trammels of men's devising and while it should never speak as a political partisan it should never be dumb in the presence of party politics or over-awed by the influence of party politicians.

No. 3.

REV ARTHUR EDWARDS, D. D.

Editor Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago, Ill.

God's message in this world aims to save men. God's enemies who seek to prey upon their fellows are not apt to preach that message, and for the reason that it interferes with their business of human depredation and destruction. Who shall offer safety and release to men when God's church and pulpit are silent through fear, favor or neglect? I could scarcely worship a God who is indifferent to the woes that afflict humanity or worship in a church whose preachers neglect living men. God's word is the only safe and sure basis of reform among men and the Christian pulpit is the interpretator of that word. The Church that is

silent is as useless as a God that never gave hope of redemption to the world.

When evils become alarmed because God manifestly is coming to help his suffering children, they combine for defense and presently propose to use their balance of power in behalf of that party which will give them new lease of life and extended license to prey upon men.

In the race to "get into politics" wrong has always been in advance and when genuine reform appeals to votes it is rebuked because it has at last been compelled to follow the example of its whining and unscrupulous adversaries. While Christianity should not be partisan in the evil sense of that word, I hold that it is recreant when, by abstaining from the ballot it with-holds the very heaviest and most telling blows it can strike against the enemies of mankind. When evil doers make resistance to human reforms, a party question, reformers are under obligations to meet them with their own chosen weapons.

No. 4.

W. R. GOODWIN, D. D.

Pastor, M. E. Church, Austin, Ill.

The pulpit that will not attack sin, anywhere and everywhere has no legitimate place on this earth. It is probable that the political parties will put the Ten Commandments into their platforms in the place of their present temper-

ance(?) resolutions and with the same sincerity. That would catch a good many gudgeons, but would an honest pulpit quit discussing the Ten Commandments because they formed a part of a political platform? No covenant with death or agreement with hell can political parties make that consistent pulpits can countenance. Just as soon as politicians touch morals they come within range of every gun a pulpit possesses and only a Benedict Arnold will refuse to fight to the death.

No. 5.

REV. J. B. McMICHAEL, D. D.

President Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.

1. God is the moral governor of the universe and the moral law is the expression of his character. Hence every transgression of the law, in whatever relation and under whatever condition of life, civil, ecclesiastical, social or political, is an offense against the law-giver. Immorality is hostility to God:

2. The pulpit is the throne of the ambassador of the kingdom of God, whose office it is to proclaim the character of the king and his kingdom and insist upon moral purity as the essential requisite in the character of his citizens.

3. Immorality, or transgression of the moral law, antedates all human institutions and therefore the commission of the

gospel minister, whose commission had never been issued had there been no transgression, antedates all political parties, and necessarily all political patents covering moral issues.

In claiming the right to discuss such questions the minister is not encroaching upon the province of the politicians but upon the contrary when disputing his right to do so, the politician is encroaching upon the province of the minister.

4. A political baptism does not regenerate the character of sin or change its relation to the Divine Government thereby relieving the minister of his obligation to testify against it. If it did his vocation would soon be gone, for among the numerous political parties all the great moral questions of the times are likely to be monopolized. Though Henry Clay with all his prestige and influence, once proclaimed that, "time has justified and sanctified the institution of slavery," yet he failed to effect the change, and the institution will never be glorified. Neither will time nor the adoption of them by any political party change the moral character of polygamy, the saloon, Sabbath desecration or any other form of moral corruption. They are hostile to holiness, the character of God, and against them the minister must testify.

No. 6.

REV. J. W. BASHFORD, D. D.

President Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

It is the duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions which are puzzling the people and demand settlement. Principles clearly drawn from the Bible should be announced with authority. Applications to perplexing modern problems which are not treated in the Bible should be made with modesty and candor, with a clear purpose of finding out what Christ would do were he in our place and without charging dishonesty upon those who draw a different conclusion from Bible premises. In a word, speak the truth in love upon all moral and spiritual questions.

No. 7.

REV. J. F. CHAFFEE, D. D.

Minneapolis, Minn.

It seems to me that it must go without saying that it is both the right and the duty of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions ; and I cannot see how that right and duty are affected by the fact that these questions are also political. But morals and methods are sometimes distinct, and one may not necessarily be involved in the other. Herod's adultery with his brother's wife was a moral question, how

he should put her away, or whether he should put her away at all or not was a political question. With the latter John had nothing to do, but in respect to the former he thundered, "It is not lawful for thee to have her." His thought seems to have been to convict the royal sinner and let him find his own way out. The ethical is often lost sight of in contentions about methods and politics and parties and all that, and yet no exigency of party or duty of service to his party, should prevent the preacher of righteousness from a bold and uncompromising utterance of the whole truth. And it should be the whole truth, not simply for the sake of party, but often in spite of party and only for the sake of truth and righteousness.

No. 8.

REV. C. A. VANANDA, D. D.

Pastor M. E. Church, Indianapolis, Ind.

Political questions have their moral phases. Thus: Material resources belong to God ; to waste them is to rob God and oppress his people. If therefore it is the policy of a party to squander the material possessions or possibilities of the State, the pulpit must rebuke that sin as surely as if committed by a single individual.

The pulpit is commissioned to preach repentance in the name of Jesus. Sin must therefore be tracked to its

hiding places, dragged into the light and stripped of all disguise that its exceeding sinfulness may be revealed.

If political parties endorse that which violates God's law, the silent pulpit is a condemned pulpit. If the guilty party is a single individual all could see the pulpit must speak out, but the character of the act is not changed when the multitude becomes the guilty party.

Gambling and the saloon have entered politics. Shall the pulpit therefore be silent concerning these awful abominations? No! a thousand times, no! The old prophets, Jesus and his disciples taught, reproved, rebuked and exhorted kings and those in authority and we have them for our examples.

A time-serving pulpit and a decline of piety with a degradation of morals are found on the same page of history from the beginning. On the other hand, a pulpit where sin is reproved with courage and yet with tears of sympathy has always been a mighty factor in intellectual and moral elevation.

No. 9.

REV. J. M. CALDWELL, D. D.

Pastor M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill.

The really great preachers of ancient and modern times, of whom we learn through sacred or profane history, have at some times in their lives exposed themselves to the

charge of being political preachers. All the prophets, whose words and writings have come down to us in the Holy Scriptures, were open to this charge. We cannot follow their example, without incurring the same occasional popular displeasure, which cost them much suffering, and sometimes their liberty and even their life. I doubt if God has any use, or the world receives any permanent good, from the labors of a man who shrinks from attacking a moral evil, because it has entrenched itself behind some political party's platform. If this be the case, there is the greater need of fidelity on the part of the ministry, lest political attachments and papers, should blind really good men, to the vices they are unwittingly used to promote, so that they think they are doing God service, while by their votes and voice they are promoting corruption and vice. As chaplains to sovereigns, which our voters are, our American clergymen have a great responsibility, which cannot be discharged unless every evil is fearlessly attacked. If politicians and parties suffer in consequence, it is an evidence of our fidelity, and the divine blessing.

NO. 10.

REV. A. B. LEONARD, D. D.

One of the Missionary Secretaries of the M. E. Church.

The right and duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions, which are at the same time political, is now and has

been for many years openly and persistently challenged by party leaders, the party press and by many of the rank and file of political parties as well. Previous to the war, the minister who denounced slavery was stigmatized as a political, and sometimes as a "nigger preacher." When the war came on, the minister who preached the Gospel of union, was by all people of doubtful loyalty declared to be a political preacher. In these days the minister who denounces the rum traffic and all parties and men who aid or abet it, is still labeled "political preacher." This outcry against ministers comes from the political demagogue whose personal character and party politics are out of harmony with the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. Mere party questions, such as the tariff, free coinage, and the like, have no place in the pulpit, but when political parties become the avowed supporters and protectors of principles and policies that are immoral and wicked, they should be exposed and denounced by all true Christian ministers. The minister who allows his members to be led by conscienceless politicians into the support of immoral principles and policies makes himself a party to their wickedness. If politicians can stop the mouths of ministers on political and moral questions, they will achieve a victory that will cost the nation disgrace, shame and blood, if not indeed its very life. If ministers hold their peace, who will speak? Nothing would so delight the minions of the rum traffic as to know that the pulpit had decided to be

quiet on the question of the legalization of their business. I am glad you have written on this vital question, and I hope your volume may be widely read by both ministers and laymen.

NO. II.

MRS. CLARA C. HOFFMAN.

President of W. C. T. U., of Missouri.

In times of simplicity and ignorance we thought it the "right" and "duty" of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions whether in, or out of politics. This conviction may have come from studying the old prophets, their ringing condemnation of "extortion that greedily gains of the neighbor"—the woe to them that "justify the wicked for reward,"—and "destroy souls to get dishonest gain." These convictions were strengthened by Christ's denunciations of the civil and political conditions that enabled men to impose heavy "burdens," to "devour widow's houses," and with the outside most fair, were full of "extortion."

More recent consideration of these things have shown us that the pulpit may discuss all moral questions in a general way, until they become political issues then be they slavery, trusts, monopolies, license of saloons, or prostitution, or whatever else that becomes a party issue, the pulpit must tread softly or the political corns in some pew may suffer. If that pew controls wealth still more need of caution.

The pulpit should be fearless to condemn all evil generally but specific evil entrenched in law, and upheld by parties is surely not the business of the pulpit. "It should preach the gospel."

NO. 12.

REV. JAMES W. HANEY, D. D.

Pastor M. E. Church, Kewanee, Ill.

It is the peculiar province of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions, to enforce the right and denounce the wrong fearlessly and unceasingly. When these questions, because of this pulpit discussion are preliminary to formulating legislation, then is the pulpit morally bound to push the battle to the enemies' gates and with relentless vigor insist upon the right being upheld and maintained. Sir William Blackstone defines municipal law to be :

"A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in a State, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong."

The pulpit is the pioneer in all great moral and political movements. Witness the mission of the prophets ; " Art thou he that troubleth Israel ? " said Ahab the wicked king to Elijah the prophet of fire.

Of the prophets of our Lord it was said by their enemies ; " They that turn the world upside down are come hither also."

John the Baptist, the "Voice" proclaiming the coming Christ said to Herod, not about him, in the matter of Herodias, his brother's wife. "It is not lawful for thee to have her." No glittering generalities here. No cowardly dodging of responsibilities. No miserable truckling to the demands of expediency. But a straight thrust of the sword of the Spirit into the hideous moral ulcer. John lost his head by it. What of that? His work was done and he went to his reward. The Master said of him, "None greater have been born of woman." The verdict of Jesus is final. No appeal can be taken.

The most stupendous exhibition of monumental cheek manifest in modern times is the unblushing effrontery with which unscrupulous and corrupt politicians warn the pulpit to keep hands off the questions which the fearless discussions of the said pulpit have compelled the said politicians to no longer ignore. Such impudence is amusing to brave men and appalling only to cowards.

Martin Luther, John Knox and John Wesley did not thunder from emasculated pulpits.

But what is the proper attitude of the pulpit upon these themes when they become party measures? Not one whit of earnest zeal should be abated.

These questions must become party questions before legislators will be elected to formulate into law what has been developed in the discussions of the pulpit. History, ancient and modern, attests that all great moral reforms began thus.

Pulpit and platform and press planned and thundered, thought was quickened, principles evolved, truths enunciated and enforced, conscience was aroused, the people stirred and the question could not be put down. Then and not till then do they become party questions. Now shall they be abandoned to "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," in the dirty pool of politics? Nay, verily. What then? The principles are to be as fearlessly discussed as before, or with more zeal and energy and holy boldness. What of the parties? As such political parties, being merely human machines are not properly subjects of pulpit discussion. "Preach the Word." "As ye go preach." "Preach my gospel to every creature." A political party is not within the commission.

The preacher as a man and a citizen has political duties as other men. They do not necessitate his dealing with mere party questions from his pulpit throne.

No. 13

MRS. HELEN M. GOUGAR.

LaFayette, Ind.

I believe it to be the duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions. I can see no reason why morals should be divorced from political action. Politics is the science of government; if we leave morals out of the applied science of government, surely the laws of man cannot comport with

the laws of God. When men fail in this surely their government cannot be a Christian government. So long as "the strength of sin is the law" and ballots make law and political parties, it seems to me to be the paramount duty of the pulpit to see that good morals find entrenchment behind legal statutes. A political party is a combination of persons to bring about certain results in legislation.

The one that combines to make it easy for men to do right and difficult for them to do wrong is the one that will promote good-will and peace on earth. I think it is duty of the pulpit to help strengthen that political party that fearlessly labors for the betterment of conditions for humanity. All reform questions such as prohibition, woman suffrage, labor reforms, child labor, land tenure, etc., should be discussed in the pulpit from ample texts found in the Word. Yes, let the pulpit talk morals and party politics until every professed Christian will feel whipped of conscience when for the sake of party idolatry he casts a ballot tainted with compromise with sin. Let the pulpit apply the lash until men carry their religion into their politics as they do into their business and social life. When this is done there will be a ruling power superior to the saloon in American politics. May God hasten the day through the faithful ministration of His servants.

No. 14.

REV. O. E. MURRAY,

Editor Patriot, Chicago, Ill.

Moral questions are not excluded from my pulpit because they happen to be in the platform of some party. We have ample precedent for the treatment of such questions. Isaiah and most of the prophets have left us their ringing condemnation of evils of both State and Church. Neither in the Jewish or Christian age were moral questions set aside because wholly or partly political.

Politics is the science of government and surely the pulpit has a duty in seeing that we have a good government. The State is a great and ponderous machine of slow movement. Stagnation and inactivity would be the result if ministers did not treat such politico-moral questions. Then as Lowell says, "Before man made us citizens, great Nature made us men." Nor do we cease to be men and citizens because we are ministers. But the minister is the servant of all and can not bend his energies or lend his public influence to factions or parties as such. He must discuss principles and if parties adopt his principles all right, let him not cease to declare them. He should as Bulwer says, "Erect himself above himself," i. e. his private self beneath his public self. He should be a friend to every truth whether in a party or not. If he is sincere and honorable he makes a distinction between his private rights and public duties. Yet if he sees a coming evil he must not cease to warn the people. Let

Jehu stand for the party politician, let Jonadab be the man of God. He was a pronounced prohibitionist. It is time our Republican Jehu stops maligning and persecuting Jehu, but let each say to the other, "If thine heart is right as my heart is, will thy heart give me thy hand?" Shake hands over all the common ground, but do not fear to be a pioneering John in the wilderness if God's word and Spirit leads that way. We are under as much obligation to render to Cæsar the things that are his as we are to render to God the things that are God's. Rum, Romanism and Rebellion are entrenched in politics and can be fought on no other ground. Patriotism alone should nerve every minister to cry out and spare not against this tried evil. Let us with our Revolutionary fathers oppose unjust taxation, with our brothers of the past generation abolish all slavery and standing as men and citizens let us stand in our pulpits and cry, "Down with all evil. The constitution; the flag; and the little Red School House, forever." Then every agreement with hell will soon be abolished and disannulled. No man can suffer too much and no man can fall too soon if he suffer or if he fall in defense of the liberties and institutions of his country.

No. 15.

MARY ALLEN WEST.

Editor Union Signal, Chicago, Ill.

“Is it the right and duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions which are also political?”

Yes, decidedly. In a Republic all moral questions are liable to become political and to forbid their discussion by the pulpit is to forge fetters which may be clapped on it at any time. Concerning any question, the minister should lead and mold public opinion, not blindly follow it. To do this he must discuss all vital questions, fearlessly, dispassionately and from the standpoint of God's word and man's duty. Moreover he is a Christian man and a citizen before he is a minister: as such it is his duty to do all he can to promote the good of the State. This makes it imperative upon him to champion whatever may enhance the welfare of the community and warn against dangers threatening it; the fact that any particular danger may be allied to a political party does not absolve him from the obligation to warn his people “whether they will or whether they will forbear.”

For example: When the lottery had secured firm hold on the politics of Louisiana good men saw in that fact only an added reason for the pulpit's discussing the moral question involved in lotteries.

Educating the conscience is an important factor in every minister's work, this cannot be done without discussing live moral questions; denouncing the sins of Babylon will

never educate an American conscience up to the point of demanding and enforcing reforms today.

Suppose the question of licensing houses of prostitution was before a community, it seems to me that any Christian minister who failed to denounce the iniquity seeking to frame itself into law, would be held responsible at the bar of God, for souls which might go to destruction through the licensed doors of her "whose steps take hold on hell." The same principle applies to a minister's silence concerning licensing any evil.

No. 16.

REV. GEO. W. GRAY, D. D.

One of the Secretaries of the Freedman's Aid of the M. E.
Church.

The purpose of Christianity is to build a Christian civilization by propagating the principles taught, and illustrated by Christ. The pulpit in its work is no more sacred than the shop in its field. The division of labor is not built on sacred but on economic reasons.

It seems to be the concensus of the church that all questions religious and moral, should be discussed from the pulpit platform.

The minister has nothing to do with the personality of the application of moral and religious issues. In all this "there can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor

free, there can be no male and female : for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus." That is, we stand as an individual in the sight of God, whether rich or poor, individual or organization, religious or political. What we would condemn in a poor man we should in a millionaire, what we would criticise in a Church, we should in a political party or any other organization. In Christ they are all "one man."

NO. 17.

MRS. G. H. READ,

Bloomington, Ill.

I think it the right and duty of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions, and the fact that the questions are of such importance as to be considered "political," only intensifies the duty and obligation to lead in the discussion of such moral questions. I think the pulpit should be influenced far enough "by the consideration that a moral question has come to be a party question," to thank God and take courage and seek to lead the church as well as the world up to God's standard of Christian citizenship.

It will be a sad day for the church of God when official Christians ignore their duties as Christian citizens, for citizenship possesses duties and obligations that cannot be relegated to others without sin ; and especially can they not be left to the care of the enemies of God and all righteousness and expect that the result will be the hastening of His kingdom in the world.

Every sentence of the Lord's prayer enforces the Christian obligation to work for its fulfillment, and the more responsible one's place in the church the greater the measure of service required.

Of course I am not thinking about going into any "dirty pool of politics," but it is to the dishonor of the church that that pool is so dirty.

I believe in the cleansing, uplifting power of the Gospel, and it certainly ought to be felt at those points that concern the interests of the great masses of humanity as well as in the little home circles. I ask for the "Thus saith the Lord," to be thundered forth from the pulpits of today, touching things that concern this nation as was heard from His prophets in olden time, and woe be to "dumb dogs," that do not give the alarm in the face of threatening danger. When the pulpits of this land give "no uncertain sound," then will the great body of believers step forward more courageously for the right and present a front to the foe, "terrible as an army with banners."

No. 18.

REV. J. R. JAKUES, PH. D., D. D., F. S. SC. LONDON,

Vice President of Hedding College, Abingdon, Ill.

All questions relating to the welfare of the individual and the State should be discussed by the pulpit on their moral or Christian side alone, excluding the merely speculative,

economic and partisan view. While the Christian pulpit is designed and adapted to promote the highest economic and political welfare of the people, it reaches this result not by the discussion of economic and political questions, as such, but by preaching the gospel in its great and benign doctrines which alone can make good and prosperous citizens. And if all the citizens as individuals are thoroughly Christianized, that is, made right, then the nation, which is the aggregate of the individuals, will be made right. And when the right prevails in the individual and the nation, then all the burning questions, social and economic, will soon be settled. For all these questions are, at the core, moral questions and can never be settled by merely political methods.

This is, I believe, the Divine plan for renovating the nation by Christianity, and causing "Righteousness to exalt a nation."

These principles have been abundantly verified in my study of the career of nearly ten thousand young men and young women that have come more or less under my influence as a Christian educator. Intelligent and high-toned Christian character, in every case, has exhibited a practical solution of all moral, political and economic questions.

No. 19

REV. C. C. McCABE, D. D.

One of the Missionary Secretaries of the M. E. Church.

The pulpit must not abrogate its right to discuss any question that has a bearing upon the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in the earth. It would not be proper to discuss such a question as the tariff in the pulpit, but when such questions as the Sabbath, the rum traffic, Slavery or the lottery abomination get into politics, then let the pulpit speak out in the name of the Lord.

No. 20.

REV. W. H. BOLTON, D. D.

Pastor Centenary M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill.

I think the time has come when the pulpit should speak fearlessly and intelligently upon all questions affecting the social and political subjects of the day.

No. 21.

REV. T. DONEY, A. M.

Presiding Elder in M. E. Church.

Public and private morality are a part of the body of Christianity.

It is the duty of the Christian minister to preach Christianity. Therefore it is the duty of the minister to preach concerning public and private morality. That such questions are incorporated into, or rejected from the platforms of political parties can afford no excuse, otherwise there is an excuse for the Christian minister not doing his duty. What rights have political associations to demand that their principles and practices shall not be investigated more than other associations of men?

The fact that moral questions are political increases the obligation of the Christian minister to discuss them in the pulpit.

He is regarded as a moral teacher and should see that his congregation has information concerning the moral issues involved in all their bearings upon public and private morality. His discussion of these questions should be in the spirit of the minister of the Gospel, and never degenerated into that of the stump speaker. Let the pulpits of our country be manly, Christ-like and fearless in the discussion of moral questions, and unrighteousness will hide itself, and politics will be purified.

NO. 22.

ELDER J. S. HUGHES.

Minister of the Christian Church.

That Christ came into the world to save sinners is no truer saying than that "he was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil."

To "receive Christ the Lord" to be our guest is no more imperative than to resist the devil that he may flee from us. They are not separate but parts of the same thing. So we are to "put on the whole armor of God that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

It is no truer that there is always a struggle going on in the hearts of individuals than that the struggle must ever go on between the "works" of Christ and the "works of the devil" till the last enemy be put under his feet."

Christ's disciples have not always been able to see clearly and to know which are the devil's earth works, but in the present case there is no mistake. The highest counsels of believers in America have pointed out the liquor traffic as the chief "works of the devil." If his chief works, then Christ's and the church's chief enemy, and the church's first and "chief concern" and the pulpit's first, paramount and urgent duty. If the church and pulpit fail to deal with it as their first enemy they fail to represent Christ in the "first concern" of his kingdom on earth, themselves being the witnesses.

What kind of a church is that which can not defend itself against its own worst enemy?

What kind of a ministry is that which "sees the wolf coming and flees?"

"Truly our warfare is "not against flesh and blood but 'against the rulers of the darkness of this world against spiritual wickedness in high places.'"

There will be no right preaching of righteousness that does not "reveal the wrath of God against all unrighteousness."

There can be no preaching of Christ that does have reference also to anti-Christ, and a preacher who will not from his pulpit teach the people how to deal with the liquor traffic because "it is a political question" and made political by the action of his own members is a "hireling and not a shepherd."

No. 23.

REV. ISA A. EBERHART, M. D., LL. D.

President Chicago College of Science.

I do not believe in making the pulpit a partisan power. I do however, believe in the right of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions whether they be involved in political issues or otherwise. The pulpit should discuss any question by which it can benefit mankind. It should do this in a judicial and kindly, rather than in a partisan spirit. I remember once, after announcing a subject touching on political issues one of my hearers said to me "I don't believe in mixing politics and religion." I said that might depend some on how you mixed them. I thought if we mixed politics with religion, it might be all the worse for religion, but if we could in some way mix a little good religion with politics, it would be a blessing to politics. He smiled a little and said "I don't know but it would."

Let the pulpit fearlessly discuss all moral issues that may benefit or bless mankind, but let it avoid the tricks of the partisan.

NO. 24.

J. C. HARTZELL, D. D.

Secretary of Freedman's Aid Society of M. E. Church.

The *right* of the Christian ministry to discuss all moral questions bearing upon the welfare of mankind cannot be questioned. History has proven that in all great advances, in the well being of society the Christian ministry stood in the forefront in moulding and directing thought. On the other hand, no great evil — as, for example, human slavery in the United States — has ever secured the approval of any portion of the church of Christ except where the voice of the ministry has been hushed through social or political influence.

Where the right exists the question of exercising that right comes to be a duty whenever the interests of society, in the judgement of the ministry, are endangered. The Christian ministry should be free from participation in partisan politics because he is to be the shepherd of souls, and should not deprive himself of the opportunity, through political prejudice, to reach his whole congregation, made up as a rule of representatives of different parties. When, however, through political intrigue, the attempt is made to silence the voice of the pulpit, and the conscience of the

church, in the interest of any great wrong, that question ceases to be a question of party politics and comes to be one of supreme public good. In such a case the duty of the ministry is plain.

No. 25.

HENRY WADE ROGERS, L. L. D.

President Northwestern University.

I have no doubt as to the *right* of the pulpit to discuss moral questions, even though those questions are political. At the same time I am convinced that it is not the *duty* of the pulpit to preach politics, and that it is a great mistake from every point of view to do so. A moral question, which has become a political question, should be discussed in the pulpit on its moral and not on its political side. We are not wiser than the master and his advice was "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." Men do not go to church to be told how to vote, but to have the Gospel preached to them. To take advantage of their presence to compel them to listen to a "stump" speech, is, in my opinion, a very offensive thing, and should not be done. Those who occupy the pews are quite apt to imagine that they are as fully competent as the minister to reach conclusions on political questions. If a minister feels it his duty to discuss a moral question on its political side he should do it outside his pulpit, either in the press or on the rostrum, where

no one will be compelled to listen to him who does not desire to do so.

I think the pulpit weakens its influence when it preaches politics, and that the minister who does it is not following the example of his Lord and Master.

No. 26.

REV. CHARLES A. BLANCHARD, D. D.

President of Wheaton College.

I understand the duty of the pulpit to be to bear witness to the truth and to be most faithful in warning men against dangers which are most imminent. I do not see how the ministry can neglect the application of Bible truth to current questions without a complete abdication of its office. If moral questions are to be discussed in the pulpit, whether they be political or not, who is to discuss moral questions? Doubtless the fact that political parties have divided on the moral questions and that party spirit is likely to cloud the understanding of men, should render the pulpit careful, clear, and eminently biblical in its treatment of such themes. But to hold that whenever one body of citizens are maintaining the cause of evil and another the cause of righteousness, the ministry must be silent respecting the question on which issue is joined, seems to be the height of absurdity.

I can think of nothing better adapted to bring the pulpit in to public contempt. The fact is that most men are busy

and that when they pay a man for teaching them the will of God respecting practical themes, the person so chosen and paid is obtaining money under false pretenses unless he does his duty.

No. 27.

REV. W. M. LAWRENCE D. D.

Pastor Second Baptist Church Chicago.

It is the right and duty of the pulpit to discuss all moral questions, but never in a political way. The pulpit should never be influenced one way or another by the fact that a question has been made partisan. The teachings of Jesus are to be applied to every thing that comes in the range of life. It is not, however the right nor duty of the pulpit to tell any man that one party more than another may or may not follow those teachings. The principles are to be unfolded by the preacher, and the hearer must not be denied the opportunity of exercising his responsibility to decide how to apply those principles.

No. 28.

REV. DAVID H. MOORE, D. D.

Editor Western Christian Advocate.

Principles belong to the pulpit; parties never. The minister is to be God's man, not a partisan. He will

declare the whole oracles of God, courageously but wisely. He has no right to be dumb, when morality is involved.

No. 29.

REV. G. J. LUCKEY.

Pastor M. E. Church, Galesburg, Ill.

The pulpit was divinely instituted to appeal to the consciences of sinners in order to their salvation, and to voice God's thought on all questions having to do with building Christian character. Correct morals are indispensable to true Christian character.

The preacher is not only at liberty, but, it is his indispensable duty to discuss any and every question involving the moral qualities of right and wrong, upon which his congregation needs enlightenment, or awakening in order to intelligent Christian action.

Moral and spiritual questions, as they affect the individual, the family, society and the state are his specialty. If the individual, or the family, or society, or the state, occupy a wrong attitude upon any question involving moral qualities, then it is his business by directness of correct teaching on that question to lead to reformation.

Since he received his office from, and, is responsible for the performance of its functions to the same source whence came the right of existence, and prerogative of social and political action, there are no questions involving the moral

qualities of right and wrong that can by society or the state be withdrawn from his right and duty of discussion.

By his call to and acceptance of the sacred office he loses none of his social or political rights. In the discussion of moral questions which have been forced into the arena of political controversy his character as a Christian herald must never be lost in the attitude of a partisan controversialist. If he utters burning philippics against wrong and the evil doer as such, his utterances should carry with them all the force of his divinely instituted office without one jot of abatement by condescension to the lower plane.

No. 30.

HON. D. H. HARTS, Lincoln, Ill.

We are asked "Is it the right and duty of the pulpit to discuss moral questions when they become political issues."

We think this question is asked, because a political party has made the prohibition of the licensed dram shop a political issue.

The Christian Church is the conservator of the moral and spiritual purity of the people and by the highest authority of the different organizations it has almost universally declared for prohibition. Prohibition therefore becomes the doctrine of the church — and it must be the right and the duty of the pulpit to discuss and defend this doctrine.

The Christian Church is deprived of choice in this matter. There is no alternative. It must act affirmatively or per-

ish. The occupant of pew or pulpit who by silence, words or acts, opposes this doctrine, opposes the church.

No true Christian minister can neglect prohibition — without feeling the keenest compunctions of conscience chastising him and without his heart filling with abject apologies to his better judgement and his God for every act of denial in this duty demanded at his hand.

No. 31.

REV. C. A. GARST, A. M.,

Pastor Universalist Church, Avon, Ill.

The Right and Duty of the pulpit are not dependent upon political considerations for their authority. To deprive the pulpit of the right and relieve it of the duty of discussing moral questions, because political parties incorporate them in their platform, is to give expediency and party success pre-eminence over principle, truth and righteousness. Sabbath observance is none the less a pulpit question because one political party favors it and another once passed the infamous "Raster Resolution." The principle of Prohibition is still a legitimate pulpit theme although one party favors it, another appreciates "wise and well directed efforts," and the other ignores it. To discuss it in a partisan way would be wrong, but to allow the politician to usurp the right and deny the duty of the pulpit on moral questions is to believe more in party wisdom than in the

Gospel. A full and free discussion of any righteous principle cannot consistently be denied the pulpit. Party attitudes have no place there. The pulpit derives its *authority* from revelation, reason, and conscience, not from politicians or political parties. Right is to be perpetuated, and duty is imperative even if parties do sometimes admit it. The pulpit has no less liberty because of that.

No. 32.

REV. JACOB STRAUB, A. M., D. D.

Pastor Universalist Church, Hoopeston, Ill.

The question as to how far partisan positions may be argued from the pulpit in matters of civil politics admits of somewhat various answers. The object of the pulpit is to save, by the most direct route and immediate means. It is not to save spiritually alone but temporally as well; and not alone the individual but society — the aggregate of the people. This the experienced pastor knows, cannot be done by strictly the same process, though by the same principle in all cases.

The overthrow of evil institutions is not to be accomplished by always the same point of attack, or by the same method, while the principle governing may always be the same. With these provisions, the pulpit must be left entirely free to be directed against all wrong and for all right; but always in and by the name and spirit of Christ. The pul-

pit is never to be lowered to or confounded with the rostrum, but must always be "the sacred desk."

It is generally the case that after a clear statement of principles and strong injunction upon the sense of duty, finding the right party may be left to the people. Should this however fail of reasonable success, the pulpit should be more specific, and urge the particular measures and party requiring their suffrage. The history of the state and of the church alike commend this course.

No. 33.

OLIVER W. STEWART, A. M.

State Evangelist for the Christian Church of Illinois.

I believe that the practical application of the teachings of Christ affords a certain solution for all moral questions. It is clearly the right of the pulpit to apply those teachings to such questions. The one, who disbelieves in Christ, is not in a position to challenge the right of the pulpit to discuss moral questions, which are also political; while no true believer will dispute its right to discuss those questions, which, if ever settled, must be settled in accordance with Christian teaching and enlightenment.

Since in the teachings of Christ is found the only true standard by which to decide moral questions, it is the duty of the pulpit to lead in the discussion of them. The fact that a moral question has become a party question does not

change the duty of the pulpit with reference to it. If it were *not* the duty of the pulpit to discuss such questions, after they have become party issues; the enemies of a moral reform would have only to make it a party issue in order to silence its strongest supporters. The pulpit cannot consistently cease its agitation of a moral issue, until every battle has been fought and the final victory won.

No. 34.

REV. J. S. CUMMINGS, D. D.

P. E. Galesburg District, M. E. Church.

I believe it to be the duty of the preacher to "lift up his voice and cry aloud" against sin, whether individual or national. The fact that a moral question has become a party question makes it all the more important that the pulpit should teach and arouse the conscience, because it has to do with public morality and national welfare. The preacher is presumed to be a citizen, and therefore interested in the welfare of the country. In this he has the example of the old Hebrew prophets, who never hesitated because a question was political, but hurled their anathemas against kings and all public men and measures that were not right. And in the great crises of our country, as in the Revolution and during the Rebellion, the faithful pulpit rang in trumpet tones in favor of right and in condemnation of wrong. In each of these great struggles the result depended

largely upon the influence of godly men in the pulpit. Thirty years ago leading men in the great Republican party, from the President down, recognized this, and approved the faithful preacher who dared to denounce wrong and plead for the Union.

No. 35.

MRS. IDA EVANS HAINES, A. M.

Late Professor in Hedding College.

1. *Ps. XXII, 18*: God's right to rule demands his servants' outspoken condemnation of all governmental politics which compromise with evil.

2. *Isa. I, 4, 10, 16, 17, 19, 20*: Through his messengers God denounces *national* sin and prophesies results of national politics.

3. *Jer. VII, 1—7*: God's faithful messenger must accuse the people of *definite* sins, "oppression," "shedding of blood," whether by ancient or nineteenth century methods.

4. *Isa. LVIII, 1, 2, 6, 7*: The minister must "cry aloud" concerning national sin, demanding "The fast"—"Love (help) thy neighbor." So establish civil institutions that it may be easy for him to do right and difficult to do wrong.

5. *Isa. LXII, 6, 10*: Shall the "watchmen upon the walls" "hold their peace" because at the polls factions

are advocating, opposing or ignoring national sin? "Never"! "cast up a highway" in the low levels of public opinion. "Lift up a standard for the people"—a clear-cut application of God's truth to the question of the time.

6. *Isa. IX, 6*: Since the government is to be on Christ's shoulder, the duty of the Christian minister is not done so long as a moral question in national policy is not settled right.

7. *Jer. I, 7, 10*: Opposition and persecution are anticipated in delivery of God's message but his messenger is forbidden to fear even the politicians.

8. *Mark XVI, 15*: "The "gospel"—righteousness, national as well as individual—must be preached even to the *official* "creature."

9. *Eph. VI, 12*: The conflict to which the minister leads in the struggle to overcome evil wherever established, even is the "high places" under governmental jurisdiction.

10. *John III, 8*: Even when political parties are organized to eradicate national evil, the Christian ministry must continue to preach the gospel of national righteousness until the "purpose" is fulfilled, viz. the *destruction* of the "works of the devil."

11. *Tim. IV, 1, 2, 5*: "The word," including a righteous nation, may be "out of season" to the politician

whose party would license an evil, but the "evangelist" must "make full proof of his ministry."

12. *Ezek. III, 17, 18*: Will the blood of the thousands slain through our civil institutions, be required at the hands of some "watchmen" of today, cowering before the politicians who would dictate to the pulpit?

NOTE.

We sent the questions, standing at the head of this chapter to forty U. S. Senators and twenty members of the House, in all sixty — thirty Republicans and thirty Democrats but did not receive a single reply. J. J. Ingalls says the leaders of the old parties are all cowards, but even he gave no answer to the questions.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DUTY OF THE PULPIT TO HELP MASS THE FORCES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AGAINST THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

(In answer to our questions Dr. C. H. Payne sent an article published in the Union Signal Aug. 20th, 1891, with directions to select from the article and publish as we might choose. The whole article is so good, and so worthy of preservation that we insert it entire as a closing chapter.)

BY C. H. PAYNE, LL. D.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY BOARD OF EDUCATION OF
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

A chain of linked logic as strong as that which binds the universe together, binds our subject upon the conscience of the church and the pulpit.

The first link in the chain is the incontrovertible fact that the liquor traffic is the greatest curse of Christendom, and a stupendous obstacle in the way of the Christian church. I will not insult your intelligence by any array of sickening statistics to prove the proposition. The intelli-

gent world knows the fact. At home and abroad, whenever the Church of Christ attempts to prosecute its holy mission, it is confronted by this personification of evil—the liquor traffic. The ships that bear our Christian missionaries and Bibles to save the heathen, go laden with Christian rum to damn the souls which the church seeks to save. The first link in the chain is an adamantine fact that may well crimson with shame the face of every Christian man.

Link second.—This greatest enemy of man and deadly foe of Christ's Kingdom will only be conquered by the agency of the Christian church. It is vain to expect the devil to strike down his strongest ally. It is useless to hope that the world will undertake the overthrow of a moral evil that the church and the pulpit hesitate to attack. It reflects honor on the church to say that the world expects and awaits its leadership in this as in all other moral reforms, and therefore this foe will go down only before the assault of the church. There is no flaw in this link.

A third link in the chain invites our scrutiny. The church can cope successfully with such a foe as the liquor traffic only when its forces are *thoroughly massed*. A united foe, a divided church. This one sad but truthful sentence tells the story of our long defeat, tells the story of the heart-sickness of our ranks and the hopelessness of our cause, if we will not learn a higher wisdom and unite for victory. There is no sadder sight on earth than to see the liquor

forces rally around a common standard, irrespective of party or creed, or personal relations and massing their forces to protect any imperiled point and beat back any assault, while the temperance forces are hotly contending about measures and methods, and, for the most part, practically aiding the combined enemy. Can there be any intelligent questioning of the fact that the duty of the hour is to unite all the forces that acknowledge loyalty to Christ, and march in soldierly order and serried ranks against the common foe?

The church has made a great but natural mistake, inspired probably more by a false philosophy than by a faltering courage. The doctrine of individualism has been emphasized at the expense of unity. She has depended almost entirely on the power of Christian principle in the individual for the spread of Christ's kingdom, the single regenerated heart against the unregenerated world. There is a vital and important truth here but it is only hemispherical; individualism needs to be supplemented and strengthened by *combination* and *concentration* — a principle equally Christian and by no means antagonistic to its counterpart. In the development of Christian civilization and especially in a government whose laws and life are largely the expression of the aggregated opinions of the individuals composing the mass, vast increments of power will come to the kingdom of Christ by *massing the units* of Christian loyalty and utilizing them for the overthrow of evil and the enthronement of right. The reign of Christian principle in the indi-

vidual heart is indeed the basis of the triumph of Christ's kingdom in the world, but the practical form and concrete shape which these principles take in determining the laws and forces of customs which govern vast masses of people, in our complex society need direction and unification to accomplish the best results. To give this direction and so to make many-fold more practical and potent the isolated units of Christian life is the work of the Christian church and Christian pulpit. The practicability and power of this work the church is beginning more fully to realize. Let it but assume the leadership which is its right and duty, and unite its scattered forces, and scarcely an evil now fortified by respectable custom and intrenched behind law but would soon surrender to its united attack. And this most shameless and most gigantic foe of society—the liquor traffic, is the most fitting one on which to begin this new crusade in the name of Christ and of all who claim loyalty to Him. The time is ripe. The call is imperative.

The toleration of the liquor traffic is the greatest anachronism of the nineteenth century—the greatest crime of Christendom, the greatest shame of the Christian church. *Thirteen million* communicants of the Protestant Christian church in this Christian nation and this traffic of hell unchecked. *Thirteen million* Christian men and women in Protestantism, and *six million* more in the Catholic communion, all helpless and palsied in the presence of this oligarchy of satan. *Nineteen million* Christians and a hun-

dred thousand Christian ministers, and the saloon, according to the *New York Times*, has more power in the politics of the country than all the churches, all the ministers, all the membership, all the colleges and schools of the nation combined. If anything could stir the heart of the church it is this appalling sight. And this sad spectacle too in the presence of the fact that a *united effort* on the part of these churches would speedily overthrow this throne of iniquity. *Could* not these millions of Christian people outlaw the liquor traffic, *if they would?* *Could* they not stop its legal manufacture and sale for drinking purposes, *if they would?* *Could* they not prevent the United States government and the government of every individual state from having any further complicity with this iniquity by licensing or legalizing it in any form, *if they would?* *Could* [they not force every legislature to put this fruitful source of crime in the category with other crimes that exist only in the defiance of law, and with no respectable support, *if they would?* Beyond question all this is far within the power and the province of the Christian church. Is there any question that it is the duty of Christ's church thus to unite to overthrow its most conspicuous and most successful foe?

Link four.—The pulpit is the legitimate, divinely ordained agency to mass the forces of the Christian church and to lead them on to victory in this holy crusade against the liquor traffic. It would be stultifying to affirm that the church could and should undertake any work in which the

pulpit might not properly act its part of helper and leader. Its voice must ring out clear and strong and unequivocal, the rallying cry calling the forces of Christ to battle. To deny this function and this duty to the pulpit is to affirm that the pulpit must be dumb in the presence of society's greatest curse ; must be the slave of custom rather than its liberator. If it be said that the pulpit should preach temperance to the individual, but leave unrebuked the traffic, reform the drunkard, but spare the drunkard-maker, then you ask the pulpit to belittle its own work in the eyes of all manly men by openly confessing its puerility and pusillanimity. You ask the pulpit to rescue the sufferers from incendiary fires, but be careful to speak no word against the incendiaries themselves, to bury the slaughtered victims of drink, but be silent concerning the murderous traffic and the respectable power that fosters and legalizes it. If the pulpit were to listen to this counsel it would invite the wrath of God and the contempt of all true men. It would be shorn of its strength and robbed of its respect. No, it is the plain and palpable duty of the pulpit to discuss and to conserve every interest of society, to antagonize every wrong, to encourage what is right. And since the saloon is the central source of the crimes and the curses and woes of mankind, if the pulpit can not or will not antagonize this evil it may as well abandon its calling and cease its high pretensions. But so long as the pulpit is called of God to be the mouth-piece of heaven to men, so long must it fearlessly

declare God's truth whether man will hear or forbear. The fourth link in this divinely welded chain of duty reveals no weakness but fastens itself around the Christian pulpit of to-day with a grip of infinite power, binding it to the duty of massing the forces of the church against the death-dealing traffic.

How shall this duty be performed?

Like any other duty, with fidelity, fearlessness and Christly love. The pulpit must keep before the people the true standard of total abstinence for the individual and total, legal prohibition of the traffic. It must encourage the use of all proper measures to promote the Temperance cause, educational, moral and legal. It must put the responsibility for perpetuating the sale and use of strong drink where it belongs, in the family, in society, in Legislature and Congress, in politics, and in the sovereign voters who make the nation's laws.

But this will awaken antagonism in the pew. And so will faithful preaching always awaken antagonism. So the Master foretold; so we must expect. Preaching against the liquor traffic will cause antagonism from three sources—business interests, social customs and political affiliations.

With the first two of these antagonisms in the pew, the pulpit of to-day would acknowledge itself to have but small trouble. The ordinary minister would despise himself and be despised of his church, and by the community, if he allowed his lips to be sealed for fear of offending the seller and the

drinker of intoxicating beverages. But the other and far larger class of hearers, those whose political affiliations make them sensitive to the utterances of the pulpit, how can the minister do his duty in his work of massing the Christian forces and not give them offense? Perhaps he cannot; but *if* he cannot, then the time has fully come when this unhealthy and unnatural and unchristian condition of the church needs prompt and vigorous treatment.

The disease has reached a crisis; the faithful pastor, who is also a true physician, must with all skill, yet with all fidelity, apply the probe before the whole body of the church becomes gangrened. This extreme sensitiveness is itself a symptom that indicates a dangerous disease. There is serious trouble somewhere when the pulpit is warned against the discussion of a subject so vitally related to the welfare of men and the progress of the church.

Undoubtedly the one difficult aspect in the treatment of the case is this political aspect. Let us consider it dispassionately and without partisan prejudice, if we may hope to reach so high a state. We are told by men who think themselves honest, that this whole question of temperance and of the liquor traffic should be kept out of politics. Very good; but we may as well be told that sin should be kept out of the world. The disagreeable fact is that *sin is in the world*. The equally resistless fact is that the *liquor traffic is in politics*, and it is there by its own volition. It is common to charge its presence in politics upon temperance reformers,

but this is a mistake. The liquor oligarchy itself put this question into our politics. It did this most naturally and, considering its own interests only, most wisely. Seeing that political parties naturally want votes, and knowing that it had votes by the thousand at its command, the liquor oligarchy demanded of political managers protection and legalization for its traffic, and thus far it has largely succeeded in securing its demands.

And since the liquor men demand and obtain protection for *their* business what is more natural or more reasonable than that good men should demand that the defenses and protection of the law should cease? And as the liquor forces are united in their demands what is more natural or reasonable or necessary than that patriotic men of every name, and especially Christian men, irrespective of party, should *unite* in demanding the legal overthrow of this destroyer of their homes and enemy of the public good?

Yes, the liquor question *is in politics*, and can never be gotten out of politics until the ministry and the church unite to put it out. And they will never put it out by pious talk nor fervent prayers; in this issue, forced upon us by the enemy, *votes, and votes only give the ultimate decision. The liquor question will never be out of politics till forced out by the ballots of free men emancipated from party domination.*

In order to do this the pulpit has a delicate and difficult but necessary duty to perform. Difficult, but not more difficult than some other duties from which it must not

shrink. Men occupying the pews and calling themselves Christians must be made to see that there is no evil of society greater than the saloon and no duty greater than the destruction of the saloon. That the saloon must be *outlawed*, that it cannot be outlawed until a majority of voters demand it, and that this necessary majority can never be secured while men slavishly follow the dictum of the party managers who want the saloon vote are propositions easily demonstrated. The pulpit must preach the duty of loyalty to God as supreme above loyalty to party. This is the solemn and imperative duty of the pulpit of to-day.

But we are told again that the *pulpit* must not meddle with politics. By whose authority and in whose interest is this saying so flippantly bandied about? Who authorizes the pulpit to leave whatever has to do with politics outside the sphere of its discussion? Surely the Bible is not sponsor for this very convenient doctrine of unprincipled politicians who do not like to face the pulpit's opposition. Since the gravest moral questions are involved in the politics of a country like our own, it is treason to truth and to God to demand the silence of the pulpit in relation to these questions.

The pulpit must discharge this duty with skill and with love and it must be in this as in all its administrations neither an advocate nor an apologist of any political party as such. As a minister the pastor should be non-partisan but not non-Christian. As a man he should ally himself as conscience and the Word of God bid him

But non-partisanship by no means requires the pulpit to be silent on all political questions. On the contrary the silence of a public man like the minister is rightly construed as decidedly partisan and is often indeed the most effective form of carrying party measures. Yes, the pulpit should be non-partisan in fact and not in mere profession, and should not lend itself to mere party service any more by its silence than by its utterances.

But are we not in danger of falling into error concerning the relations and duty of the pulpit to political organizations and measures? Whence comes the widely prevalent sentiment that the pulpit must be dumb concerning political parties and their issues? What law of God, what principal of Christianity, what reasonable requirement of man, demand the silence of the pulpit concerning any man or body of men, any society or corporation or organization whose avowed principles and open conduct vitally affect the interests of society? And what command of Christ or what principle of ethics exempts the organization called a political party from the honest, consideration, or, if need be, the denunciation of the Christian pulpit?

Indeed the political party, because it makes its appeal for popular support, is more than other organizations the legitimate subject of pulpit discussion. The contrary position is dangerous in the extreme. If a body of men organized in any other capacity promulgate theories perilous to the community and solicit public support the pulpit would be ac-

counted cowardly and guilty to maintain silence. Why then when a political organization adopts a platform that embodies dangerous principles, proposes "to frame iniquity into law" and asks the support of the church, should so many men suddenly demand that the pulpit be dumb concerning this matter? Shall the pulpit yield to this unrighteous and perilous demand because a large number of party blinded men unite to make it?

What will happen if the pulpit does heed this clamor? Suppose a political party advocates the legalizing of lotteries, the licensing of prostitution, the protecting of gambling houses, the pulpit in obedience to this imperious behest must keep silent and allow these abominations to blight the homes and ruin the youth that it is the pulpit's office to protect and save. Shame on the man who makes such a senseless and dangerous demand on the pulpit. Shame on the pulpit that yields to the demand. And greater shame on partisan pulpits that silently surrender to the greater evil of the liquor traffic and to the party organization that seeks to protect and fortify this iniquity by law.

One other link and our chain is complete.

A united pulpit will soon bring a united church; the Christian forces will be massed and the legalized traffic in intoxicating drink will be overthrown. Scarcely a moment remains to let in the light upon this glowing hope. But light there is and hope lures us on and courage summons us to manly endeavor.

Slavery was strongly intrenched behind law and custom

and business interests and politics, but slavery went down before the voice of courageous pulpits and the valor of brave hearts, aided as a good cause always is, by the Providence of God. The liquor traffic is possibly more strongly fortified, but the same valor in pulpit and pew, in legislative halls, and on the fields of activity will cause this greater and more destructive foe of God and man to fall before the massed and marshalled hosts of Justice and Right. A hundred thousand Christian pulpits united in this holy cause will bring in this millennial morn. Defections in the pew and dismissals from the pulpit may here and there occur; but when the new incumbent of the pulpit gives the same "certain sound" to the trumpet as did his dismissed predecessor, the contest will quickly cease, the forces will be united and the long looked-for victory will have been won.

Our chain is complete. Its five links binding the hundred thousand pulpits and the many millioned membership of Christ's church, in this goodly land, into a blessed unity of purpose and endeavor to destroy this ravager of human hearts and happy homes, will also bind the gloomy present to a golden future, throwing a bridge of hope across the dark chasm, and bidding the emancipated millions of a land redeemed from the curse of strong drink, pass over to a "paradise regained."

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**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

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